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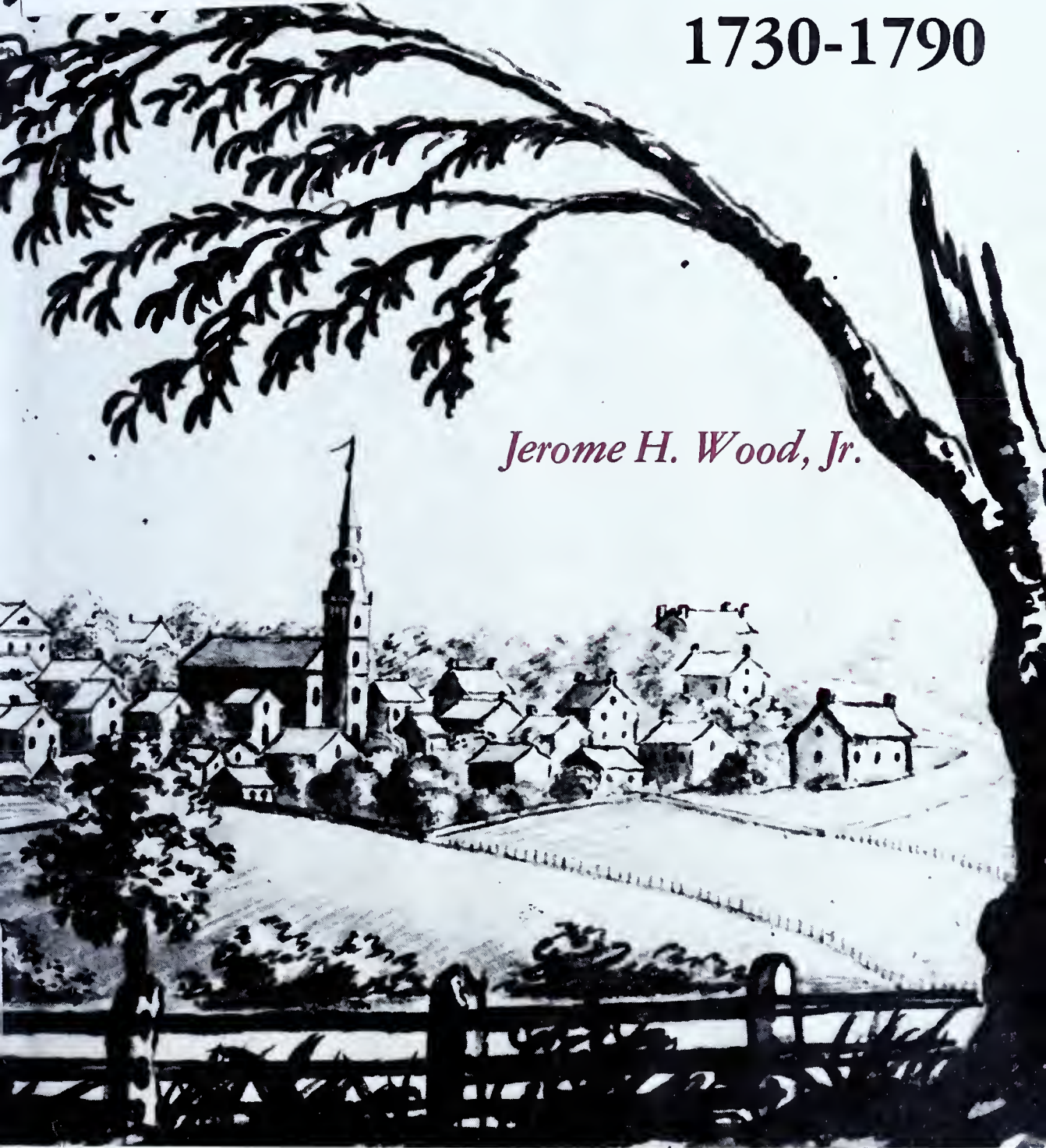


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ncaster, Pennsylvania

1730-1790

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## Conestoga Crossroads





Conestoga Crossroads  
*Lancaster, Pennsylvania*  
*1730-1790*

By Jerome H. Wood, Jr.



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Commonwealth of Pennsylvania  
Pennsylvania Historical  
And Museum Commission  
Harrisburg, 1979

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For My Parents,  
JEROME and ARAMENTA WOOD,  
and My Brother,  
ROBERT

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# Preface

IN RECENT years, historians of early American society have turned with heightening interest to the evolution of local communities. In some instances, their concern has been directed toward the transit of English people and institutions to New World settlements and the very first stages of societal development here. In other cases, scholars have taken a broader view, temporally speaking, and have sought to trace the evolution of early American towns over a period of time in an effort to ascertain the extent, causes, and meaning of the changes which they underwent. New techniques have been employed in this work—most notably quantitative analysis and historical demography—and these, together with the posing of more sophisticated questions, have brought enrichment to the field of colonial studies. As a result of this recent scholarship, local history has reached a new level of relevance and sophistication, far removed from the genealogical, institutional, and “boosterish” preoccupations of earlier practitioners.

If the latest work on local history and community studies has been characterized by greater depth of analysis, it has not, geographically speaking, been accompanied by much breadth. The recent studies on early American towns have been devoted almost exclusively to New England. To an extent, such bias is understandable. That region is peculiarly blessed with a cornucopia of town-meeting records, church records, vital statistics, and other sources important to local historians. The community-minded Puritans who settled the area north of New York City were, moreover, strongly devoted to the town as a social environment, a fact which has naturally led historians of early American communities to concentrate their energies there. It may be worth noting, too, that those scholars who have produced the most recent work on early American communities received their graduate training in New England institutions, which have never been known to underestimate the importance of their region. But New England was, after all, only one sector of the American mainland colonies; and its history constitutes only one facet of early American experience. Before historians can gain a fuller picture of the origins and development of communities in colonial America they must direct their attention elsewhere. The aim of the present work, to that end, is to focus on the middle colonies, on a town which was—at the outbreak of the War of American Independence—the largest inland settlement in colonial America.\*

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\*Stephanie Granman Wolf's *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), appeared after this manuscript had been completed.

Lancaster, Pennsylvania, resembled neither the farming communities of New England nor the rural neighborhoods of the South. It was, rather, a minor urban center. Thus, its history fits properly into both the general history of American communities and the more specialized department of American urban development. As an urban settlement, Lancaster faced problems which were different only in scale from those which arose in the metropolitan areas—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston—along the Atlantic seaboard. As for its economic function, the town was, first of all, the principal marketing center for a very rich agricultural area of southeastern Pennsylvania. More than that, the town served for the greatest part of its eighteenth-century history as an inland emporium, representative of those urban centers which sprang up one after another with the westerly movement of the American people and which, indeed, made possible the advance of the agricultural frontier.

As far as its history as a community is concerned, Lancaster differed significantly in development from the pattern followed by the New England towns. The Puritan settlements of the seventeenth century were launched in an age of corporatist orientation and were characterized initially by ethnic homogeneity and religious uniformity; only later did these communities evolve out of their holistic disposition into that privatistic, pluralistic “democracy in cupidity” which has been the main dynamic behind American development. Significantly, Lancaster never experienced the first stage of this career. It was founded in a province which, to be sure, exhibited some semblance of a guiding social and religious purpose; but William Penn’s “Holy Experiment” was more an ideal than a reality. The town was, moreover, established in an age when the tendency to individualism was gaining increasingly greater sway. Lancaster never exhibited the ethnic and religious homogeneity which characterized early New England; four ethnic groups—German, English, Irish, and Negro—peopled the town virtually from its beginning; and the settlers who made it their home subscribed to more than half-a-dozen faiths. The majority of the inhabitants were not of British stock; German-speaking people constituted about two-thirds of the population throughout the period covered in this study. Theirs is the story of an alien immigrant group who entered what had been a predominantly British country in search of betterment and who contributed greatly to its development. It is a tale of inter-ethnic contact, ethnic friction, and, ultimately, partial assimilation, which is recounted to some extent in these pages. Whereas the eighteenth-century history of the New England towns displays the difficulties of maintaining a sense of community in the face of increasing religious, ethnic, and social differentiation, that of early Lancaster reveals the problems of creating a sense of community out of ethnic, religious, and socio-economic diversity.



A word should be said on the approach and organization of this book. I have tried to reach several audiences: the intelligent general reader (Pennsylvanians and others) as well as students interested in having a glimpse of life in an eighteenth-century community of the Middle Colonies; and professional historians, whose interest in Lancaster will depend primarily upon what they may be able to extrapolate from its history and apply to the analysis of major issues in colonial and later American history, such as the process of community development, the character of early American political institutions, and the distribution of wealth. Serving several masters is difficult; it is hoped that everyone will be reasonably, if not completely, satisfied. It should be added that the intention is to give as full an account as possible of the diverse dimensions of one community; and although some of the newer methods of analysis have been employed the focus is on the town and its people and not—as in the case of some recent local studies—on larger theoretical concerns. I have preferred to proceed by an analysis of selected topics rather than follow a narrative approach—this for purposes of depth and focus. Because of the scarcity of source materials for the first twelve years of Lancaster's history (1730-1742), I have treated that period briefly in a Prologue, indicating, where appropriate, certain themes to be developed later. The remainder of the book covers the period 1742-1790, the latter year marking the point at which the town's importance as a distribution center for the western region seems nearly to have ceased. Part One concentrates on the political and administrative history of the town as a borough, Part Two on the town's economic structure and its role as a regional marketing center and a western emporium, including a description of the structure of inland trade. Part Three focuses on the economic class structure of the community (where I make some use of quantitative analysis), on the characteristics of its religious life, on the social and cultural interaction between "Dutchmen" and "Engellanders," and on the role of the town as an intellectual center. Although each part has an integrity of its own, the three sections taken together contribute, I trust, to a sense of the character of the community as a whole.

Many people have aided me in one way or another in the preparation of this work. Professor Carl Bridenbaugh, a demanding and wise mentor, a source of exemplary inspiration, stimulated my appetite for early American history during my days as a graduate student at Brown University; he put me onto Lancaster as a dissertation topic, and I have long since appreciated the wisdom of that direction. There are others whom I wish to mention and to thank publicly: John Rowe Workman, of the classics department at Brown and a Lancastrian, who first introduced me personally to the city; Herbert Anstaett, Librarian at Franklin and Marshall College

in Lancaster; Miss Elizabeth Clark Kieffer, sometime librarian of the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church Archives and Libraries in Lancaster, whose great knowledge of early Lancaster history and whose willingness to answer patiently my many questions and to listen to the barbarian notions of an outsider cheered me on many occasions; John W. W. Loose, jovial and ever-helpful editor of the *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society*; Mrs. Charles Lundgren, Librarian of the Lancaster County Historical Society; Clyde L. Groff, sometime president of the Community Historians of Lancaster; Charles Weinike, archivist of St. Andrew's Moravian Church in Lancaster, and his wife, who introduced me to the early records of their church and to nineteenth-century American Moravian church music as well; the late Dr. S. K. Stevens, former executive director, and Miss Martha Simonetti, associate archivist, manuscripts curator, at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg; Dr. Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., Librarian, and Murphy E. Smith, Manuscript Librarian, at the library of the American Philosophical Society; Willman Spawn, manuscript restorer and binder at the same institution; Miss Hildegard Steffan, formerly a cataloguer at the Philosophical Society library, for transcribing parts of an almost illegible German diary; Director Nicholas B. Wainwright, J. Harcourt Given, Milton Kenin, and other members of the staff in the manuscript section at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Edwin Wolf II, director of the Library Company of Philadelphia; and the staffs of the manuscript rooms of the New York Public Library, the Maryland Historical Society, and the Library of Congress.

Four of my former colleagues in the Department of History at Temple University—Harry M. Tinkcom, Russell F. Weigley, Allen F. Davis, and Mark H. Haller—kindly read and commented on various portions of the manuscript at several stages, as did Professor Theopolis Fair of LaSalle College. At Swarthmore, my colleagues James A. Field, Jr., J. William Frost, Robert C. Bannister, Robert C. Mitchell, and Hedley Rhys read sections of the manuscript and offered helpful advice on many matters. The quantitative data on wealth distribution presented in Chapter Eight were programmed for, and run through, a computer by Miss Anne Anderson, an exceptionally able Swarthmore graduate. Mrs. Eleanor W. Bennett, secretary to the Swarthmore history faculty, and her daughter Debbie, carefully and cheerfully typed the manuscript.

I wish also to express my gratitude to my publisher, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, and its Executive Director, William J. Wewer; Maxwell Whiteman, a member of the Commission; Harry E. Whipkey, director of the Bureau of Archives and History; and Louis M. Waddell and Harold L. Myers, associate historians, who carefully and helpfully steered the manuscript to publication.

Two financial awards made possible the researching and writing of this study; one from the Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship Program, and the other a summer research stipend from Swarthmore College.

If I have overlooked anyone who assisted me, I apologize and tender a general thanks. None of the individuals named here is responsible for the correctness of the facts or the interpretations presented in this book. Subscribing as I do to the wisdom of an old Pennsylvania-German saw —“Yeder mus sei egne hout zum gerwer drawga”—I am quite willing to carry my own hide to the tanner.

Aldan, Pennsylvania  
June 22, 1977

J.H.W.





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"LANCASTRE"

From Edouard C. V. Colbert, Comte de Maulevrier, *Voyage dans l'intérieur des Etats-Unis et au Canada* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935). Courtesy of Count Guy de Leusse.

## PROLOGUE

# *The New Town in "Conestogoe"* (1730-1742)

BY THE third decade of the eighteenth century, the Pennsylvania frontier line had advanced considerably westward of the Delaware River. Just after the onset of the century, a few French Canadian fur traders had settled along the Susquehanna. Behind them, a constant stream of new arrivals in the Province, most of them seeking the farmer's paradise William Penn promised them was there, soon began to fill "the upper parts of the Province . . . lying towards Susquehanna," bringing the area within the pale of what contemporaries called "the improved parts" of the region. The first farming settlements in these frontier lands south of the Blue Mountains and east of the Susquehanna had been made less than thirty years after the founding of the Province. By 1709, a colony of Swiss Mennonites had escaped the religious persecution of their homeland and settled on the north side of Pequea Creek (present-day Strasburg), having come over under "a particular Agreement" with the Provincial Proprietor.<sup>1</sup> Two years later, Secretary James Logan learned that "many people are desirous to go backwards to settle."<sup>2</sup> Northwest of the Pequea settlements, along or near Conestoga Creek, other communities of Swiss and German farmers were springing up, forming with their neighbors the vanguard for thousands more who followed.

Penn's promise to these husbandmen had been a good one. In the dawn ages of geologic time, this region, like the rest of southeastern Pennsylvania, had been the floor of a great sea. Myriads of tiny creatures swimming in this sea and dying in their course, deposited skeletons to form the limestone ingredient of what would one day be some of the richest soil on the North American continent. After millions of years, with wrinkling and buckling of earth, the sea retreated to leave exposed the rolling, gentle hills of a piedmont gradually rising westward toward the Appalachians, but giving way in places to broad valleys of enchanting beauty. It was a para-

Portions of this prologue appeared as "The Town Proprietors of Lancaster, 1730-1790" in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XCVI (July, 1972), pp. 346-68. The author is grateful to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for permission to use that material here.

dise for farmers, a land truly "not to be despised," the source of unrivaled prosperity for many generations who would live there. Originally, however, this region had been the domain of an Indian race who believed themselves to have sprung "out of this ground," so long had they lived there. These "Susquehannocks," as they were called by the first white intruders, "generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion," with strong and clever tread, with noble chin and eloquence of speech, had imposed upon the land an advanced Stone Age culture of settled village life and husbandry. They were also called Andastes and "Gandastogues" by the Canadian fur traders, the latter name becoming Conestogas, a designation for tribe and region, in the language of English settlers. Through the flux of time and the ravages of Iroquois battle-prowess, their numbers had been decimated—a boon to white men moving into the region. But a small remnant of this once fierce nation lived in several communities east of the river, the main one near Conestoga Creek, at an Indian town called Conestoga. At the beginning of the eighteenth century they were joined by Shawanese and Ganawese from the southward, as well as Nanticokes from Maryland.<sup>3</sup>

-II-

The communities established by white settlers in this frontier region of Pennsylvania were administratively and politically a part of Chester County, the most recently established and largest in the Province, stretching from the western banks of the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers to the westernmost limits of the proprietary grant. Chester, the county seat, was nestled on the Delaware, near the southeastern edge of the county where, as the seat of justice, the depository for public records, and the market town, it was, after Philadelphia, the most important center for the western settlers. But the inevitable desire for political power on the part of the rising back-country people—hidden none too well behind their citations of increasing population, the difficulties involved in traveling to Chester, and the desire to impose order on the unstable frontier—in course led to the demand for a new county.

In a petition of 1729 to the Governor and Assembly, "a great number of the inhabitants of the upper parts of Chester County" complained of "the great hardships they lie under" by being so distant from the seat. They remonstrated as well on the difficulties encountered in attempting "to secure themselves against the thefts and abuses almost daily committed . . . by idle and dissolute persons, who resort to the remote parts of the province, and by reason of the great distance from a court or prison, do



frequently find means of making their escape.”<sup>4</sup> Responding favorably to this petition, the Assembly directed that “all and singular the lands within the province of Pennsylvania, lying to the northward of Octararo Creek, and to the westward of a line of marked trees, running from the north branch of the said Octararo Creek, northeasterly to the river Schuylkill, be created into a county . . . named . . . Lancaster County.”<sup>5</sup>

English pride and memories of home furnished a name for the county.<sup>6</sup> Local rivalries engendered by the hope of prosperity would be the dynamic determining the placement of its seat. The chance of being so designated whetted the expectations of the residents of several communities. Surely, the site chosen for the county seat would gain an important advantage in growth and wealth through its role as an administrative and economic center; lawyers, doctors, and other professional men would establish themselves there; shopkeepers and craftsmen would be attracted; land values would rise. The Governor and Council instructed the commissioners of the new county to select “a piece of land located at some convenient place in the county, there to erect and build . . . a courthouse and prison sufficient to accommodate the public service of the . . . county, for the ease and convenience of the inhabitants.”<sup>7</sup> At least two places were regarded as leading contenders for the honor. On the west bank of the Susquehanna, Wright’s Ferry, operated by county commissioner John Wright, and located in an area where other county officials owned land, was put forward as a site. But considerable opposition to this prospect came from the eastern part of the county; the settlers there demanded a central location for the seat. More favorable consideration was accorded the area surrounding John Postlethwaite’s inn on the old Conestoga Road in Conestoga Township; indeed, while the search for a site on which to establish the county town continued, meetings of the county courts and commissioners were held at Postlethwaite’s in a temporary courthouse erected for that purpose.<sup>8</sup>

Ultimately, neither local rivalries nor considerations of convenience altogether determined the selection of a site for the new county seat. Speculation—specifically, the Proprietary inclinations of a well-placed Provincial official—became a factor in the proceedings and, in the end, decisively shaped the outcome. On February 14, 1730, the commissioners responsible for locating a “townstead” for the county reported to the Governor and Council that they had agreed upon “a Certain Lot of Land” reputed to contain between five and six hundred acres or thereabouts, “situate on or near a small run of water” between the “plantations” of Roody Myer, Michael Shank, and Jacob Imble, about ten miles east of the Susquehanna. As it was not clear who owned the land, however, the Governor ordered that this fact be ascertained “because it may be in such hands as will not part with it or at least [not] on reasonable terms . . . .”



It was presumed, nonetheless, that the land still belonged to the Proprietary family, so that insofar as it was to be used as a seat for Lancaster County the feeling was "that it is more proper to be granted by the Proprietor for such uses, than by any other Person." Apparently on the recommendation of the Governor and Council, Provincial Secretary James Logan, who was also one of the Commissioners of Property for the colony, authorized John Taylor to survey the tract and make a return of his plot.<sup>9</sup> Further consideration of the business was to be delayed until the completion of Taylor's survey. On February 17, 1730, however, before the receipt of the plat, the Governor was advised to and did approve the site under consideration, since it was "now understood that the right of the Land . . . remains yet in the Proprietaries."<sup>10</sup> Taylor's survey was completed on February 26, at which time the tract under consideration was found to contain one thousand acres.<sup>11</sup> The choice was approved in writing on May 1, 1730, and shortly thereafter "Lancaster Townstead" was surveyed and laid out.<sup>12</sup>

Although it was allegedly "now understood that the right of the Land . . . remains yet in the Proprietaries," the truth is that by the middle of May, 1730, it had come into the possession of Andrew Hamilton, a former deputy governor, onetime speaker of the Assembly and currently prothonotary of the Provincial Supreme Court. On the sixteenth of that month Hamilton and his wife, Ann, deeded to the commissioners responsible for choosing a place for the Lancaster County seat lots for a courthouse, prison, and public market. Before the end of the month, at least eight other lots were assigned by the Hamiltons to private individuals.<sup>13</sup> In other words, the Prothonotary and his spouse were performing the role of town proprietors! How did they gain ownership of the land? Although the process is not altogether clear, it is possible to reconstruct the main outlines. When the question of the rights to the townstead land first arose, the Governor appointed Hamilton to make a search of all titles to real estate in the vicinity.<sup>14</sup> What he found, apparently, was that the land in question was among those tracts for which William Penn had given warrants to private individuals in England but which had never actually been surveyed and taken up by the grantees. In April, 1682, Penn granted five hundred acres in the Province, on the site where Lancaster rose, to Richard Wooler of London. Wooler's heirs granted the land to a Samuel Arnold in 1714, and this English resident still retained the warrant in 1730.<sup>15</sup>

That Hamilton was able to secure possession of the Lancaster site may well have been the result of his intimate association with the Penn family. In addition to serving as prothonotary of the Supreme Court, he had been since 1713 a legal adviser to the Proprietaries and had journeyed to England as recently as 1725 to settle some business of the Penn family, includ-

ing the will of William Penn.<sup>16</sup> Given this salutary connection, plus the knowledge that the land designated as the seat for Lancaster County had never been taken up, Hamilton may have asked for and received permission from the Penns to make it his and to dispose of it to his own advantage. More than likely, he simply appropriated it for himself. It is clear that the Prothonotary attempted to locate the current holder of the warrant and to buy the rights. James Steel, a friend of Hamilton, had recently been in England buying up old rights. In February, 1732, he sent Samuel Arnold thirty guineas (£31.10.0.) for the five hundred acres on which the proposed town was to rise. It was later revealed by Steel that the money paid to Arnold was Hamilton's and that "the name of the said James Steel was used only at [Hamilton's] request."<sup>17</sup> In May, 1733, the Proprietaries ordered that the land be resurveyed on behalf of Andrew Hamilton. After another year, "for divers good causes and valuable Considerations them . . . especially moving," Steel and Hamilton sold the townsite to James Hamilton, Andrew's son, for the sum of five shillings. The younger Hamilton secured a patent from the Penns, and on May 1, 1735, his grant was confirmed by them.<sup>18</sup>

"Lancaster Town," the object of this not uncommon land-jobbing, could hardly have seemed at the time to be destined by nature for growth and prosperity; certainly no one could have predicted that it would become the largest inland settlement in the British mainland colonies. As a county seat, it did have the advantage of a central location between the eastern end of the county and the Susquehanna, and this had been the factor which originally determined the choice of the area. It lacked, however, the natural advantages that had occasioned the commercial success of such towns as Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Chester. Foremost among the shortcomings of the site, from a trading point of view, was the lack of a navigable waterway; for the Susquehanna was ten miles to the west and impassable for boats. Even the shallow Conestoga Creek, winding its zigzag course to the south and east, was a mile from the center of the townsite, though its meandering branches watered the plot in several places. Neither was proximity to existing transportation routes a feature of the site, for the commissioners responsible for locating the seat "pitched upon" a partially wooded tract almost equidistant from the customary roads in the area. A full four miles to the south ran the "Old Conestoga Road," in existence as early as 1714, but hardly more, it would seem, than a wagon path which traced a rough, nearly impassable course eastward to Philadelphia. Almost equally as far to the north, the "Old Peter's Road," laid out in 1726, consisted of a trail reportedly blazed sometime earlier by the fur trader Peter Bezallion, and now used to connect the settlements at Paxton and Donegal with the capital city on the Delaware.<sup>19</sup> There was perhaps still a trace of

the Minqua Indian Path, which allegedly ran from Philadelphia westward through the Lancaster townsite.<sup>20</sup> Although there may have been passages of some sort joining the “plantations” near the townsite with the Conestoga and Peter’s roads, they could certainly not have amounted to much.

Aside from these shortcomings of location, the Lancaster site possessed other features which might have seemed unpromising. Toward the west and south the ground was extremely low, a feature which always elicited disapproving comments. Moreover, two marshes or swamps lay within the tract: the “Dark Hazel Swamp” to the south and another towards the north.<sup>21</sup> There were, however, numerous fine springs within the plot; and, along with several rivulets, a brook—called “noisy water” or “roaring brook” by the people who settled here—flowed northwesterly from Conestoga Creek. Nearby, on other land acquired by Hamilton, there were “two or three small plantations with old logg houses upon them, and little pieces of poor meadow . . . .”<sup>22</sup>

Not natural advantages, then, but the artificial enhancements men frequently create for themselves, would make “Lancaster Town” a place of consequence. Its role as the county seat gave it an immediate advantage over other communities in the area; it would be the principal administrative center, the location for courts and other public buildings. It would also become the focus of regional manufacturing and commerce, thus attracting to it shopkeepers and craftsmen engaged in the production and exchange of goods. Promotion, nonetheless, would be extremely important to the development of this community; its interest would be fostered not only by the town proprietors but also by “the principal Inhabitants” who knew very well that in the success of Lancaster, its economic viability, lay their own well-being.

### –III–

First, however, the process of physically building a town must get underway. Even as he was engaged in securing a firm title to the Lancaster site, Andrew Hamilton took the initial steps toward its development, bringing to the enterprise sureness of purpose and an impressive regard for good order. This was reflected in the plan he designed for the town. Drawing upon the modern concepts of town layout evident in Philadelphia and in eighteenth-century London, Hamilton projected a gridiron pattern of street arrangement; a formalistic mode not unfamiliar to the man who had earlier designed the graceful Georgian statehouse in Philadelphia. In the center of town, he placed a square to contain the courthouse; at right angles to this were laid the two principal thoroughfares of the village, “High Street” (called “King Street” by 1735) to the east and west, “Queen Street” to the

north and south. "Prince," "Duke," and "Orange" streets also proclaimed the customary deference to royalty; and there were, in addition, "Vine" and "Water" streets, the latter taking its name from the "roaring brook" that coursed along it. (See Town Plan, Page 10.) All of the streets were sixty-five feet wide, with the exception of Water Street, which had a breadth of only forty feet. The standard lot was 64 feet 4 1/2 inches wide and 245 feet deep, large enough to accommodate not only the houses but also outbuildings and gardens which many of the residents would place behind their homes. To the rear of each row of lots ran alleys fourteen feet in width. In addition to the central square, reserved for the courthouse, and the log granted for the county prison at the northwest corner of King and Prince streets, Hamilton reserved a large area adjacent to the northwest corner of the square for a markethouse.<sup>23</sup>

Lancaster's proprietor had ample reason to expect the successful peopling of his town, for streaming into Penn's Province, propelled by unsettling conditions in Britain and on the European continent, was a vast swarm of humanity, drawn westward in many instances by the hope of religious freedom, inspired in all cases by the search for a better material life. The British Isles had furnished the first great outpouring—English people, Welsh, and Irish—but by the 1730's most of the immigrants were arriving from German-speaking communities, especially from the Rhenish Palatinate. Cultivators of the soil for the most part, these "Dutchmen" and "Swissers" (for some of them were from the German-language cantons of Switzerland) also included a large number of highly skilled artificers, as well as a smaller group of professional men and traders.

It became apparent in the earliest years of settlement that the Palatine immigration, and the people arriving from Switzerland, would contribute greatly to Lancaster's population. Sixty per cent of the people who took up lots between 1730 and 1736 were of German or Swiss background; and by 1740 they constituted seventy-five per cent of the lotholders.<sup>24</sup> What attracted these people to Lancaster? For the Germans, the knowledge that there were men of their background already settled in the area may have been an attracting force. It may be, too, that Hamilton engaged in some sort of promotional activities designed to encourage newly arrived immigrants to settle in "his town."

Only in name an English town, Lancaster was from the start and remained an overwhelmingly German community, where German speech and the prevailing German mode of dress might well have led the occasional visitor to imagine himself in some Rhineland *dorf*. The first of the German townspeople came from such places as Alsace, Hannau, Offenheim, Zweibrucken, Bretten, and Schwabia. Although the English residents referred to these neighbors as "Dutchmen," a corruption of the Ger-



man word “Deutsch,” none of them came from Holland. Religiously, they were almost all “church people,” that is, members of the Lutheran and German Reformed bodies, rather than adherents to the sectarian groups—Amish, Mennonite, Dunker—whose members were among the tillers of the surrounding farmland. To the task of building new lives and a new town, the German immigrants brought a reservoir of much common prior experience as well as common uncertainty mingled with hope for the future. Some of them had sailed together on crowded vessels in the spring and summer passage across the Atlantic from Rotterdam, bringing with them chests and trunks containing their clothing, bedding, cooking utensils, implements of husbandry, the tools of their trades, but little else.<sup>25</sup> When, nearing the end of their long journey, these newcomers floated up the Delaware to Philadelphia, they faced an unfamiliar world. Each person must come to terms with it individually, but not without help from kinsfolk and friends. Some of the immigrants remained for a while at the capital city or in Germantown, a village settlement to the northwest. Many of the newcomers entered into periods of indentured servitude in return for the payment of their trans-Atlantic passage. Others, both freemen and servants, struck out for “the back parts,” including the new town called Lancaster.

Adjustment to new surroundings was probably more difficult for the German immigrants than for others; indeed, much of their previous experience would not be useful here. Hopefully, there would be opportunity, a place where a man might expect to work hard and to prosper. Here *die Kinder* might have a better chance in life than at “home.” Opportunity, that was the main thing! Good fortune or bad, they would all find themselves perplexed but nonetheless influenced by alien customs in an alien culture—sometimes in subtle ways, but nonetheless surely. Soon after arriving in America, perhaps, they had found themselves using new English words like “lot,” “meeting,” “county,” “election,” or “creditor”; in the future they would learn many more. A new system of law, new modes of political activity and organization, a new currency—these and other novelties confronted them. But in their world of many changes, the Germans would find familiar elements, could rely upon them for orientation and support. More important, there would be legion of countrymen speaking the same language and equally puzzled by many aspects of the new surroundings. Almost all of them would try to hold on to the old, familiar ways as long as possible. As far as the German immigrants in Lancaster were concerned, the fact that they constituted a majority in their chosen new community would be a strong factor in favor of their being able to maintain traditional patterns of life. They could still depend upon the old consoling church, with sermons and pastoral visits from “Herr Pfarrer.”



And in the church there would be the organ and the hymns, the tender ones which brought forth tears, the anthems that sent shivers up the spine. The old holidays, especially Ascension Day, could still be celebrated. Ultimately, however, in trying to hold onto the customs and language which defined their identity as a people, but having at the same time to adjust to English institutions, this group of immigrants and their descendants would blend German and English elements together in curious ways to produce a hybrid, "Pennsylvania-Dutch" culture.

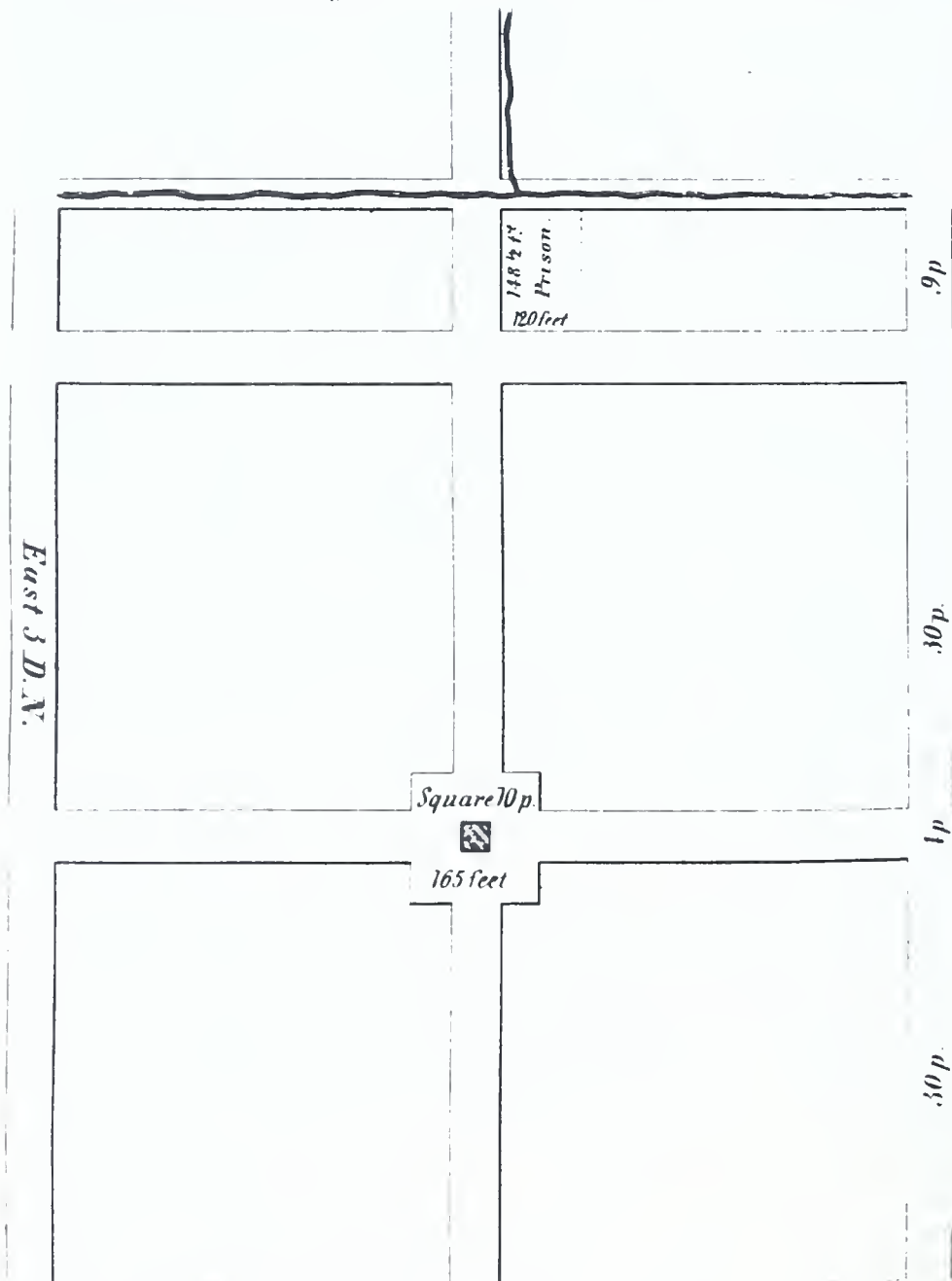
Every free man among the early residents of Lancaster had an opportunity to own property and a home, for the town proprietor made his lots available on easy terms. Upon acquiring title to a homesite, the grantee promised to build upon it within a year "one substantial Dwelling-House of the Dimensions of Sixteen feet square at least, with a good Chimney of Brick or Stone, to be laid in or built with Lime or Sand." Incident to each town lot was a ground rent which must be paid annually to the Hamiltons, and which was transferred with the property whenever it should be sold.<sup>26</sup> To attract newcomers, Hamilton set the first ground rents at a moderate level: 7s. sterling for all lots except those fronting on the central square, which seem to have commanded a rent of £1.4s. sterling during the first twelve years of the community's development.<sup>27</sup> In addition to the town lots, the Hamiltons offered to the first arrivals forty five-acre outlots at 7s. sterling rent yearly, "mainly because the people would not be satisfied without them." On other land which he owned near the town, Hamilton set aside some tracts of fifteen to twenty acres each "and rented them to tavernkeepers for five or six pounds a year for pasture."<sup>28</sup>

Most of the first lotholders settled along King Street—the principal lane of the village at its founding—which would carry the public road from Philadelphia through Lancaster to the Susquehanna. The earliest residents clustered in the four squares surrounding the town center; those arriving later spread themselves east and west along the main thoroughfare, though a few chose sites along Queen Street, to the north and south of the courthouse square. By 1741, lots had been taken up on King Street as far as the third square west of the center, along Duke Street to the east, and on Prince Street to the west. The first houses built in the town were largely frame structures, some with logs "chinked" with stones or wedges of wood plastered over with lime, mortar, or clay. There were examples, as well, of German half-timber construction—a structural framework of heavy timber with earth, plaster, or other material placed in the interstices. Some of them followed the old European pattern, with steep hipped roof, central chimney, and small windows reminiscent of medieval folk building.<sup>29</sup>

Many of these dwellings were the possessions of individuals with means

# A PLAN DESIGNED FOR THE TOWN OF LANCASTER, MARCH 1730,

*reduced from the Original in the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth at Harrisburg.*



and proprietary leanings of their own. A town born partly of speculation engendered more of the same. Among the first lotholders in Lancaster there were persons for whom the prospect of a flourishing town was an inducement to secure and improve property with the intention of selling or renting it for profit or investment. Some of them, moreover, did not reside in the town. Edward Dougherty, who appears to have been a tavernkeeper in Strasburg Township to the southeast, owned "a house that Mary Loller [Lawler] lives in and a House next to Wm. Wilton in Lancaster Town" at his death in 1736.<sup>30</sup> Five years later, Anna Nutt and Robert Grace, owners of the Coventry and Warwick ironworks near French Creek, Chester County, received two lots in the town.<sup>31</sup> Doubtless aware that his craft could be plied to profit in a rising settlement, Cornelius Verhulst, carpenter, of Hempfield Township, appears to have acquired lots, built houses upon them, and then sold them.<sup>32</sup> Some of the individuals who actually settled in the town took up more than one lot either at the time of their arrival or shortly thereafter. Samuel Bethel, an innkeeper who had owned land in the vicinity since 1717, took title to at least four lots between 1730 and 1735, and a fifth one in 1740; two of them bordered on the central square, and the others were valuable corner properties nearby.<sup>33</sup> By 1735, Henry Hunt acquired a lot on the east side of King Street near the central square, one at the northwest corner of Orange and Queen streets, and a third one on Prince Street hard by the center of the village.<sup>34</sup> John Foulks, tanner, claimed three lots upon his arrival in 1740, as did Michael Shryack and George Smyther, while Mary Dougherty—who was, perhaps, the widow of Edward Dougherty, an early lotholder, and who had moved to the town in 1737—received deeds to three lots in 1740.<sup>35</sup> Twelve of the ninety-two lots assigned in 1740 went to persons previously in possession of town realty. To be sure, only a handful of people owned more than one lot in the first twelve years; those who did so were doubtless persons who could afford to pay carpenters or masons to erect houses upon their several holdings. Their actions—especially when they held on to their additional houses as investment properties—early created a group of tenants whose ranks would increase significantly in the future.

— IV —

Having first secured a place to live, and thus to work, the settlers of the new town turned their minds and energies to the day-to-day activities pursued by residents of other towns throughout the Province. With the arrival of the earliest inhabitants, the first signs of commercial activity began. At least four shopkeepers were retailing a general assortment of merchandise during the initial decade. Richard Marsden, sometime clerk to the County Commissioners, who took up a lot in 1735, opened one of the first shops.<sup>36</sup>

By 1737 the widow Mary Dougherty offered a wide selection of items, including ivory combs, cloth goods, writing paper, spices, nails, and gunpowder.<sup>37</sup> Among the first of the German shopkeepers were George and Sebastian Groff, who also stocked a variety of wares in the establishments they opened before 1740.<sup>38</sup> These traders, like the many others who came after them, depended upon Philadelphia merchants to supply the commodities they sold. The earliest commercial transactions between town retailers and wholesalers at the port city were prophetic of the great trade that would flourish between Lancaster and the Provincial capital. The widow Dougherty, for example, maintained a standing account with the Quaker dealer John Reynell, from whom she bought goods worth more than £370 between 1739 and 1745. The Groffs also dealt with Reynell, though apparently not on a regular basis.<sup>39</sup>

It soon became apparent that the larger retailers in Lancaster could depend on "the custom" not only of their neighbors in the town but the storekeepers in surrounding hamlets as well, to whom they sold on a regular basis. For those back-county settlers who found the two-day journey to Philadelphia burdensome, Lancaster served as a convenient marketing center. In advising a friend about the prospect of a mercantile partnership in the new settlement, a Lancaster resident noted that "As to keeping a Store up here, If proper Goods were bought to Suit the Country Shopkeepers and Coud be afforded as cheap as they have 'em at Philadelphia, allowing for the Carriage, I Doubt not but I coud promote a Trade that might be advantageous." Certainly the trading potential of the town was high; the Lancaster correspondent further informed his friend that "if by your Correspondence at Home [England], goods coud be procured I would be very willing to join in a Store here and am of opinion it would turn out to be a considerable Advantage, As I am well acquainted with the Country and Coud induce many of the Country Storekeepers to Deal with us."<sup>40</sup> On behalf of the shopkeepers already established in the new town, as well as other people in the vicinity, the wagons which went from Lancaster to Philadelphia were "So Often pre-Engaged for their back Carriage [return journey]" that space in them was at a premium—even in these early years.<sup>41</sup>

Other early commercial activities were revealed in the numerous petitions for licensed "houses of public entertainment," as well as requests for permission to sell beer and cider. Samuel Bethel opened the first hostelry in Lancaster soon after acquiring his lots in 1730, and during the succeeding five years other establishments were licensed. It is likely that the new arrivals in the town lodged in these inns until houses could be built for them or suitable accommodations found. Shopkeepers like Mary Dougherty and George Groff, both of whom were licensed in 1738, sold spirits as

well as their usual “shop Goods.” A steady increase in the number of applications to open taverns, especially after 1738, reflected the growing number of thirsty newcomers.<sup>42</sup>

Faint glimmerings of Lancaster’s future as a manufacturing center were apparent by the end of the first decade. Among the artisans settled in the town at a very early date was George Camer, stockingweaver, who was plying his craft there at the time of his death in 1734. The tannery established by Derrick Updegraff at King and Water streets sometime before 1738 presaged the town’s importance in the industries associated with leather.<sup>43</sup>

–V–

In the process of establishing the shops, taverns, and manufactories in which they would earn their livelihood, the first settlers showed no less concern for providing their community with at least two agencies of socialization and the transmission of culture—churches and schools.

First to establish regular meetings for worship in the town, the members of the two great German churches formed their societies by 1733. For the Reformed church people, organization was the consequence of lay initiative, the result of a decision to leave the old “Hill church” six miles to the northeast of the village, to elect three elders and, thus, to form a new congregation. At first, there was neither a meetinghouse nor an ordained minister; Conrad Templeman, the spiritual leader of this flock, was merely a lay preacher—one of those pious Christian exemplars around whom the faithful rallied in the wilderness. In 1736, however, the congregation saw its first church—a small structure of logs and clay—take form in the lot on Orange Street, just above Queen, and “by the help of God, it was so far completed that on the 20th of June, Whitsuntide, divine worship was held in it for the first time.” On this occasion, the church members called Jacob Hock, one of the founding elders, to be teacher and preacher. It is probable, however, that the “reverend and truly pious” Mr. Hock was only a dedicated layman who, in the absence of a settled minister, exercised all pastoral duties except the performance of marriages.<sup>44</sup> Adherents to the Lutheran faith established a church as quickly as the Reformed society. In 1733, the Rev. Caspar Stoever preached with some regularity to a sizable congregation, administering Holy Communion—*das Heilige Abendmahl*—to 149 communicants on the eighteenth Sunday after Trinity. Stoever eventually became the settled minister in Lancaster, and in October, 1738, the congregation erected a masonry church with a steeple and bells, and containing within a stone altar surrounded by a walnut railing.<sup>45</sup>

Members of the other religious denominations were less well served. Several Jesuit missionaries, stationed in the chapel at Conewago, celebrated the Mass for Roman Catholic inhabitants of Lancaster during the first



twelve years, the services being held in private homes. After 1740, Father William Wappeler, a German member of the Society of Jesus, visited the town about every third or fourth Sunday.<sup>46</sup> Too few in numbers to support a settled minister, the English residents of the town organized no religious societies during the first twelve years. Church of England people, as well as Quakers and Irish Presbyterians, settled there, but if they were ministered to at all it was by an occasional itinerant, or else they attended services at established meetinghouses nearby. The few Jews who had settled in the town by 1740 read their Torah in the privacy of their own homes.

Despite the success of the Reformed, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic people in establishing their churches, the first years of the congregations had a rather tentative quality about them; they were years of preparation, for a later harvest of souls. Irregular and infrequent ministries troubled some of the societies; they were the result not of parochial shortcomings—for there were listeners eager to hear the Word—but rather of exigencies peculiar to a frontier condition. The main difficulty in securing regular, settled pastors, was that there were simply too few ministers in Pennsylvania to go around. The Reverend Mr. Hock remained at the head of the Reformed congregation only seventeen months, the pastorate then remaining vacant for a year and a half, until April, 1739, when the Rev. Bartholomew Rieger was called to Lancaster and accepted the invitation.<sup>47</sup> The Lutherans lost their first minister after three years and had no settled pastor for the next five.<sup>48</sup>

Located in a frontier region, almost devoid of regular ministers, and out of touch with the hierarchies of their respective religious bodies, the church people of Lancaster were left in a status of *de facto* congregationalism not at all to the liking of superior ecclesiastical authorities who could, however, do nothing but complain about the situation. A leader of the Reformed society in Pennsylvania informed his Dutch supervisor in 1739 that he had no concrete information regarding the congregation "which has organized itself in the new town called Lancaster," for up to that time, he complained, "they acted according to their own pleasure. They have never cared for church order, but thus far have allowed themselves to be served by irregular men. However, I hear that they have a pretty strong congregation."<sup>49</sup> With little help forthcoming from their denominational superiors, the town congregations turned inward, improving themselves through the efforts of the faithful, who contributed what they could of money as well as the implements for orderly worship. One of the original members of the Lutheran society gave to his church a pewter flagon and chalice. Even before he became minister to that flock, the Reverend Mr. Stoever donated a pewter baptismal flagon and bowl. The stone altar, white altar cloth, and "velvet for a collection bag" were likewise

given by individual members.<sup>50</sup> Communicants of the Reformed congregation doubtless made similar gifts to their church, and in 1741 Mary Prator of Earl Township bequeathed "to the Popish church at Lancaster . . . the sum of two pounds for the use and at the disposal of the minister."<sup>51</sup>

The German congregations established church schools, the first, and for a decade or more the only, formal agencies of education in the town. The very logic of Reformation Protestantism demanded "an enlightened people and an educated clergy"; thus, the congregations were anxious that every individual be able to read the Bible. And since the Scriptures commanded parents to "train up a child in the way he should go," the education of youth was an important congregational responsibility. Yet, the first church schools were short-lived, possibly for lack of suitable instructors. The Lutherans appear to have held children's classes in their meetinghouse during the late 1730's, but after one or two years they were discontinued for almost a decade.<sup>52</sup> Although the Reformed people may have opened their school as early as 1736, there is no sure evidence of one until later.<sup>53</sup> These were, then, false starts; the establishment of strong parochial schools would be delayed until a later day.

## -VI-

As the residents of "The new Town called Lancaster" set about providing the village with the agencies of an orderly society, their neighbors on the surrounding farms and in the nearby hamlets also turned some hopeful attention toward the county seat—for reasons quite their own. There must be roads to enable millers and farmers to get their grain and produce to town and to provide the country people a way to get to the churches, the shops, and the sessions of the county court. Facilities for the administration of justice and the punishment of wrongdoers had to be established straightaway.

Because Lancaster had not been located originally on an existing avenue of transportation, the necessity of making it accessible to all parts of the county and to the eastern settlements was a first consideration. There was, however, no need to wait for the initiative of county officials, for almost as soon as the town was established nearby individuals and communities sought overland connections with it. Roads "to the new Town of Lancaster" constituted a sizable part of the earliest business of the County Court of Quarter Sessions. The petitions requesting the construction of roads to the settlement stressed not only the necessity of providing accessibility for administrative and judicial purposes; they indicated as well a desire on the part of the country dwellers to be easily linked with the nearest market. In fact, nearly one-quarter of the first petitions received by the

court were tendered in the interest of trade. The earliest of fourteen appeals between 1730 and 1741 for routes to Lancaster requested the court that a road be laid out from Christian Stoneman's mill to the town. During November term, 1732, the court ordered a road "laid out"—that is, surveyed—from Donegal Church to the new settlement. In February, 1734, it ordered a passage "opened" or cleared from Lancaster to Wright's Ferry on the Susquehanna; and in the same year, inhabitants of Paxton, Derry, and Donegal townships asked for roads from a mill at "Kikatening Hill" on the river to the Pine Ford on Swatara Creek, "and from there by the most convenient way to the town of Lancaster." To provide communication with a nearby industry, the court ordered in February, 1738, that a road be cleared from Lancaster to the ironworks on French Creek, "with a Fork leading to the new Furnace called Reading furnace." By 1741, roads had been ordered surveyed which would eventually connect the town with Harris' Ferry (Harrisburg) to the northwest, Blue Rock Ferry to the southwest, and Tulpehocken to the north.<sup>54</sup>

If it was important that the new seat be accessible to all parts of the county, it was essential that it be linked with Philadelphia, the great market to the east. The Conestoga Road south of Lancaster, doubtless merely a customary route, had never been officially opened and was reported "Liable to continual alterations"; it was, moreover, "almost impassable for want of Repair." In January, 1731, officials and other residents of the new county informed the Provincial Council that "not having the conveniency of any navigable water for bringing the produce of their labors to Philadelphia, they are obliged at a great expense to transport them by land carriage, which burden becomes heavier through the want of suitable roads for carriages to pass." There was, as yet, no public road from the county to the city, "and those in Chester County through which they now pass are in many places incommodious." Consequently, the petitioners requested that suitable persons be appointed to view and lay out a "Road for the Publick Service from the Town of Lancaster til it falls in with the high road in the County of Chester, leading to the Schuylkill ferry at high street." Two years later, the Council declared the thirty-two miles of roadway then laid out "a King's Highway or Publick Road," and ordered that it be "forthwith cleared and rendered commodious for the Publick Service." Shortly thereafter, the county court augmented these instructions in requiring that the passageway cleared be at least thirty feet wide; bridges were to be built over the swamps so as to render the highway "Safe and passable for horse and waggon."<sup>55</sup>

Despite the great need for these roads, there was almost always a lapse of two or three years between the time that they were ordered cleared and their completion. Even the King's Road to Philadelphia, although passable

as far as Chester County by the summer of 1741, did not reach High Street Ferry until that winter—a lapse of seven years!<sup>56</sup> Labor difficulties and the delays arising from inclement weather doubtless account for most of the lag, but in some cases disputes concerning the course of the thoroughfares occasioned frequent reviews by county officials. Gradually, nonetheless, the necessary routes to the new town were completed, so that by 1741 roads to mill, market, and meetinghouse converged at Lancaster, making it an important regional crossroads, a center attracting trade and population.

Even before roads to the new town were completed and appropriate public buildings erected, the administrative affairs of the county were transferred to the designated seat. Although the first meetings of the county commissioners and of the county courts were held at Postlethwaite's inn in Conestoga Township, the Court of Quarter Sessions sat "at Lancaster" in November, 1730. It appears, however, that the Court of Common Pleas did not convene there until August term, 1731.<sup>57</sup> Three months later, the county commissioners and assessors held an organizational meeting.<sup>58</sup> Elections for county representatives to the Provincial Assembly took place in Lancaster in 1731.<sup>59</sup> More than likely, these meetings, as well as the election, were held at an inn or tavern, since no hall of justice was constructed before the autumn of 1731 when several magistrates of the county met at Lancaster "to assist in the erection of the courthouse." This was apparently a wooden structure, replaced seven years later by an impressive brick edifice in the Georgian style.<sup>60</sup> There soon appeared, too, the negative reminders of civilized existence; by 1736, a log prison stood on the corner of King and Water streets, with a pillory and stocks—outside.<sup>61</sup> A more substantial county prison replaced the first one in 1739; like its predecessor it was constructed of logs, but the new jail had two storeys, its lower level floored with "square Loggs," the other consisting of "2 Jack plank boulded down with iron Boulds." A "good plank pettishon [partition]" divided each storey into two compartments.<sup>62</sup>

## -VII-

Despite the many evidences of an orderly community, there were aspects of life in early Lancaster that point up its initial character as a frontier settlement. It was not uncommon to see Conestoga Indians in and about the town. "Captain Civility" was at "our county town of Lancaster" in September, 1730, when he overheard talk that "Dutch and English was agoing to settle on the other side of Susquehannah"—a forecast of which he heartily disapproved.<sup>63</sup> Sometimes, the visits of the red men were menacing. Late one March night in 1738, two young Indians, one brandishing a knife, approached Samuel Bethel's inn demanding "drink," but were "with



some difficulty" turned away. When one of the braves threw a board through Bethel's window, two lodgers came out to investigate the disturbance and were critically slashed. One of the offenders was captured, and during the ensuing inquiry the fact emerged (to no one's surprise) that Indians went frequently among the townspeople "with sharp pointed naked knives," a practice which many people thought "it would be well to discourage."<sup>64</sup> The aborigines were not the only or the usual fomenters of tumult. Elections for county representatives to the Provincial Assembly and for other officials occasioned boisterousness, lusty brawling, and general disorder. In the heated contest of 1732, for example, the wife of one of the candidates campaigned for her spouse by riding through the town "at the head of a numerous band of horsemen, friends of her husband."<sup>65</sup>

Violence of near-heroic proportions flared from time to time during the boundary dispute between the Penns and Lord Baltimore. Border ruffians frequently crossed the Susquehanna to make raids upon families dwelling on the disputed lands; and when the marauders were caught, they were lodged in jail at Lancaster—not always successfully, however. Some prisoners of this description were released in a thrilling midnight jailbreak one October evening in 1737: "Charlton and his Gang to about the Number of 20, taking the Advantage of the River being Rideable and a warm night, went to Lancaster, and getting into the Gaolers house which Joyns to the prison, took the Keys out of a Drawer where they were laid, and while some guarded the Gaoler and his family with pistols and Cutlasses, the rest opened the prison Door and took out the prisoners who were in a room by themselves . . . . And locking the Door and throwing down the Keys [they] Returned and passed the River before Morning. . . ."<sup>66</sup> Refugees from these border skirmishes sometimes retreated to Lancaster from their farms along the river. In 1737, the possessions and family of John Hendricks were removed from the Susquehanna to the safety of a rented house in town.<sup>67</sup> Later that year, Edward Smout, one of the Proprietary surveyors and a justice of the peace, left his farm in the west on account of its being "at the seat of trouble" and removed to Lancaster.<sup>68</sup>

## -VIII-

Stability and instability are usually precariously balanced in frontier communities. Nonetheless, at the opening of the second decade of Lancaster's existence the signs of growth and improving organization were clear. The first settlers were being joined by many newcomers; eighty of the ninety-two lots assigned in 1740 went to families only recently arrived in the town. In 1741 there were, perhaps, three hundred or four hundred inhabitants altogether, and their number was increasing rapidly. So great



was the town's enlargement that some of the residents and adjacent neighbors commonly referred to the county seat as a borough.<sup>69</sup> It had in fact received no such elevation, but there were many who were certain that it should be so distinguished, not the least of them being the town's proprietor, James Hamilton. "On behalf of the Inhabitants," he called the merits of his town to the attention of the Proprietaries and Provincial officials, noting in his plea for Lancaster's incorporation "the great improvements and buildings made and continuing to be made, by the great increase of the inhabitants . . . ."<sup>70</sup> Rather with a view toward future potentialities than of achieved accomplishments did the residents and the town proprietor approach the men who would decide; there was in their language a tone of expectation. The mood was much appreciated by the Penn family, friends of the Hamiltons and ever zealous to encourage thriving towns in their commonwealth.

The nexus between growth and promotion was, in this event, a happy one. A charter issued on May 1, 1742, accorded to Lancaster the status and peculiar rights of a borough, investing the "freeholders and inhabitants" with perpetual succession, and allowing them such privileges and immunities "as might be thought necessary for the well-ordering and governing" of the young settlement.<sup>71</sup> Thus, "the new Town in Conestogoe" acquired its second official mark as a place of consequence, the result of an impressive infancy. Upon a piece of land situated between the "plantations" of farmers stood a new community—fast-rising, growing physically according to a plan, and establishing itself as the commercial and administrative center of its region. A network of roads provided communication to other parts of the back country, as well as to the great city on the Delaware. Some of the residents had been able to organize religious congregations and, without sustained success, denominational schools.

The first twelve years revealed significant characteristics of the community which would develop more clearly later on. No unity of nation, faith, or guiding social purpose would animate the inhabitants of Lancaster. Here there would be nothing approaching a "New England Way," no covenanted community, no arbiter other than the marketplace to shape relations in trade, no universal standard of religious orthodoxy save in matters of personal morality. Diversity and pluralism best describe the social context in which Lancastrians lived. From the town's first founding there were Germans and non-Germans, Christians and Jews, Calvinists and non-Calvinists, traders and craftsmen, freemen and servants, landlords and tenants. Privatism rather than holism best describes the dynamic which spurred the townsmen. The very founding of the settlement was the product both of private speculation and the requirements of orderly development of "the back parts." Its rise resulted from promotional efforts on

the part of the proprietor and individual action on the part of residents. Settler initiative, rather than the steering hand of government, loomed paramount in the growth of Lancaster and its region. Anxious to transform the wilderness, that is, to enhance the potentialities for private improvement, these advancers of the colonial Pennsylvania frontier used existing political agencies to facilitate activities born of a desire to prosper. Diversity and privatism—if they were admittedly efficacious stimuli to the creation of a vibrant society—were simultaneously inhibiting forces in the emergence of a sense of community in the new town at the crossroads in Conestoga.

PART ONE

The Most Considerable  
Of Inland Towns



## CHAPTER ONE

# *An Impotent Democracy*

AS A chartered corporation, "the Burgesses and Inhabitants of the Borough of Lancaster" enjoyed governmental privileges denied to communities without this distinction. First among them, of course, was a measure of independence, especially the right, through ordinances made in the town, to act locally in determining what was best for the good order and development of the community. "One common seal," which the corporation might "from time to time at their will . . . change and alter," was the emblem of the town's authority, lending the full measure of law to the ordinances it enacted. In some matters, clearly, the borough was subject to the higher power of the governor and the Pennsylvania legislature, but in the day-to-day exigencies of community life, the initiative or, less happily, the negligence of the inhabitants made Lancaster the kind of town it was.<sup>1</sup>

The charter granted to the borough was a permissive one, allowing the town a measure of autonomy that enabled it to deal adequately with many of the governmental problems it faced. Naturally, ambiguities and disagreements concerning the rights of the corporation and the powers of its officers arose from time to time, but the charter itself provided that when doubts arose concerning its interpretation, the courts were to construe it "in the way most favorable and beneficial to the corporation."<sup>2</sup> In certain important respects, however, the town lacked sufficient authority—a fact which led, towards the end of the period, to revisions in the government designed to give it additional power.

In terms of its formal political arrangements, and by eighteenth-century standards, Lancaster was a democratic community. The officers who administered the town were selected from among the townsmen by the townsmen, and a majority of the white male householders were entitled to vote for their leaders as well as to participate in the framing of local ordinances. It must be said, however, that in Lancaster the residents never took full advantage of their civic opportunities, for reasons which offer suggestive insights into the political process as well as the relationship between urban growth and governmental process and structure.



## -II-

Elected rather than appointed officials were responsible for the "well ordering" of the town. The chief officers—two burgesses, six assistants, a town clerk, and a high constable—were chosen each September by the qualified inhabitants. A clerk of the market was appointed annually by the elected officers. Although the first persons to hold office under the charter were appointed by the Governor and held their posts for two years, with the commencement of annual elections in 1744, the choice of leaders fell to the voters of the borough.<sup>3</sup>

To be a burgess was to hold the chief place of distinction in the politics of the town. Of the two men elected to the office each year, the one receiving the highest number of votes gained the title of chief burgess. The charter stipulated that within ten days after the election he must present himself to the governor—usually, in fact, his appointed substitute in the borough—to take the oath or affirmation of allegiance and the oath of office. Having been thus qualified himself, the chief burgess swore in all the other officers. In all likelihood, he presided at the meetings of the corporation, but in other respects his powers and privileges were no different from those of the lesser burgess. As "Conservators of the Peace" within the town, these two leaders possessed, until it was abrogated in 1785, the same authority as justices of the peace for the county, having power "on their own or in other lawful manner" to remove "all nuisances and encroachments" on the streets and lanes of the borough, to arrest, punish, and imprison "rioters and other breakers of the peace or good behaviour," and, in more serious cases, to imprison malefactors and to present them to the County Court of Quarter Sessions. The judicial function of the burgesses was limited to the borough, although the drafters of the charter gave some thought "to enlarging the Power of the Chief Burgess [so that it might extend] to the whole County," and to making him a member of the Court of Common Pleas, so "that the Borough might always have a Magistrate on the Bench."<sup>4</sup>

"Advising, aiding, and assisting the Burgesses in the execution of their Powers" constituted the responsibility of the six assistants. They, too, were charged with maintaining the peace and good order of the town, but, unlike the burgesses, were never given commissions of the peace. The town clerk, keeper of the corporate memory of the community, recorded the ordinances of the borough in a "Corporation Book" maintained for the purpose. Conducting elections held in the town and making a return of the results to Philadelphia, as well as escorting wrongdoers to jail, were the responsibilities of the high constable.<sup>5</sup>

The burgesses and assistants were not autonomous in their administra-

tion of the borough; their power was essentially executive and judicial, and rested on a popular foundation. The function of enacting local ordinances was invested in the adult white men of the community who could assemble in town meetings to make such "Ordinances and Rules . . . as to the greatest Part of the Inhabitants may seem necessary and Convenient for the good Government of the Borough." Although historians have paid considerable attention to the town convocations of New England, virtually nothing has been said about similar institutions which existed in the middle colonies; indeed, the very existence of such bodies outside of the Puritan settlements comes as a surprise to almost everyone. For most of the period covered in this study, the Lancaster town meeting convened on an average of three times annually. During the French and Indian War and the War of the Revolution, however, meetings were sporadic. In the 1780's, as the townsmen directed their attention to increasing urban problems, these gatherings occurred about four times a year. The history of the Lancaster town meeting is a curious one quite distinct from that of its New England counterpart and will be analyzed later in this chapter.

If the corporation desired and needed augmentation of its power, it was in the direction of fiscal autonomy, for it was denied an essential instrument of government—the authority to tax the residents of the borough. Less than a year after Lancaster's incorporation the Chief Burgess inquired of James Hamilton, the town proprietor, "whether wee can Raise any Money on the Inhabitants within the Borough by Assessment." At that time, the officers and some of the "principal Inhabitants" wished to have the town make some provisions against the hazards of fire, and to provide weights and measures for the clerk of the market—"several little things which wee Can't bring about without Some power in ourselves to Raise a Fund." Such a fundamental instrument of government was, however, not granted to the corporation until three decades after its establishment. Only when the Provincial Assembly—always jealous of its fiscal prerogative—specifically empowered the corporation to levy a rate could it do so. Otherwise, the cost of government in Lancaster had to be met from the revenue accrued from fines and forfeitures, as well as from the rental of stalls at the market place or at the semi-annual fairs. Although figures are not available for the earliest years, by the 1760's the corporation could depend on an annual income of about £100, which seems to have been sufficient for the ordinary purposes of government. From this sum, the magistrates paid the cost of repairing the town pumps, of providing shingling and timber for the market house, making bridge and road repairs within the town, publishing ordinances of the corporation, erecting stalls at the fairs and paying a "Cryer," publishing bilingual advertisements for these festive occasions, and other more casual expenses.<sup>6</sup>

## -III-

In carrying out their assigned duties, and in executing the ordinances of the corporation, the burgesses and assistants were responsible to a broad town electorate, for the privilege of casting a ballot in the choice of their leaders could be exercised by a majority of the white, male heads of families. The stipulations of the charter allowed the franchise in town elections to "all Burgesses, Constable, Assistants and freeholders, as well as such inhabitants, housekeepers within the borough, who have lived there for one full year preceding an election an hired a house and ground within the borough to the value of £5 or upwards."<sup>7</sup> Only white men were regarded as a part of political society. "Freeholders" apparently referred to those individuals owning their own lots and houses in the town, and were distinguished from mere "inhabitants" who appear to have been male heads of families living in separate dwellings rented from someone else. By the liberal terms of the charter, then, all officers of the town, except the town clerk and the clerk of the market, as well as homeowners, were qualified *ipso facto* to vote in town elections. The residency requirement, moreover, applied exclusively to tenants; it would, of course, vary in its effect over the years, tending to be more restrictive in periods when heightened immigration into the town occasioned the presence of a large number of tenant housekeepers, and less restrictive as the town increased through generation. The "£5 or upwards" added as a further condition for the qualification of tenant voters referred to the annual rent paid by them to their landlords, rather than to the value of the structure rented.

Clearly the Lancaster electorate was intended to be a broadly inclusive one, having as its basis something more than the oft-cited "stake in society" concept as a condition for political participation, something more than the notion that only the owners of real property count politically. For the privilege of voting in town elections was also extended to tenants; not all of them, to be sure, but only those who could meet the one-year residency requirement and the stipulation concerning the rent which they paid for their dwellings. With the exception that they did not own their homes, these tenants were "Housekeepers" very much like the "Freeholders" who lived around them; but they were considerably unlike "Inmates" and "Singlers" (single men). They would, for one thing, be family men who for that reason would have a social, if not a property, stake in Lancaster. Herein may lie the clue to their inclusion in the franchise—the presumption of a requisite sense of responsibility in men who were at least "Housekeepers" if they were not freeholders. Moreover the requirement that the political participation of such men rests on their payment of the stated amount of rent was perhaps based on the assumption that anyone paying £5 or more for

his house would more than likely occupy a substantial habitation and, thus, would have a respectable competence in reality, as well as the appearance of a man of independence.

At least sixty per cent of the white, male heads of families were entitled to cast a ballot in town elections by the 1760's. This can be demonstrated through the analysis of three assessment lists for 1759, 1772, and 1788.<sup>8</sup> In each case, however, *all tenants* have been eliminated from the computation, since it is difficult to distinguish clearly between "Inmates" or roomers and tenants living in rented dwellings. Moreover, since the year's residency requirement applied only to tenants, there is no need to take account of that restriction here. On the assessment list for 1759, the names of 474 heads of families appear, 170 of whom (thirty-five per cent) were tenants. Subtracting the latter number from the former yields a figure of 304 — or sixty-one per cent of the white, male heads of families eligible to vote in town elections that year.<sup>9</sup> There are 425 heads of families on the assessment list for 1772, 138 of whom (thirty-two per cent) were tenants; the same process of subtraction reveals that 287 or sixty-seven per cent of the heads of families qualified for the exercise of the franchise at that time.<sup>10</sup> The assessment list for 1788 contains 626 heads of families, including 174 tenants (twenty-six per cent); after the latter are eliminated, 452 or seventy-two per cent of heads of families were entitled to vote in town elections at the end of the Confederation period.<sup>11</sup> These figures are imprecise; they are, indeed, conservative. For the elimination of all tenants for the purpose of this analysis excludes tenant-housekeepers of at least a year's residency in the town and thus produces a figure somewhat less than the actual percentage of eligible voters in any given year. What does emerge clearly, however, is evidence suggesting that a majority of the heads of families could vote in Lancaster by the middle of the eighteenth century, and that the town's electorate was, moreover, an expanding one, rising from at least sixty-one per cent of the male heads of families in 1759 to at least seventy-two per cent three decades later. Because election returns for the borough do not now exist it is impossible to say how many voters actually exercised their privilege.

This popular electorate was not universally approved. Some inhabitants, scornful of what they termed "the lowest sort of Germans unacquainted with our [British] Constitution and Laws," shared the opinion of the first Chief Burgess that such liberal franchise provisions in Lancaster produced "mischievous Consequences in raising up every year turbulent pretenders to popularity and dividing the people."<sup>12</sup> To be able to choose their leaders marked, nonetheless, an important experience of democratic government for Lancastrians, and the Chief Burgess' complaint suggests that a large number of the men who were eligible took advantage of the opportunity. It



suggests, too, that contention and campaigning were the normal features of electoral activity in the borough, that however much some men might disapprove a contested election—"dividing the people"—the reality of the matter was the absence of an exclusive, consolidated elite sufficiently powerful to command so universal an allegiance as to obviate contention at the polls.

Mere "pretenders to popularity," as well as gentlemen who were certain that their superior station guaranteed it, had to plead their merits before the same tribunal—a democracy of industrious artisans. The road to electoral preferment was a busy one, and electioneering commenced well before the day of reckoning. Having made known his intention to seek a place, the candidate could probably rely on the aid and votes of his closest friends; but it was essential that he secure a wider backing, or as contemporaries put it, that he strengthen his "Interest." James Ralfe, a merchant who stood for chief burgess in 1768, knew what had to be done. With the election only a week away, a friend noted with some disdain that "he frequents already the Chief Taverns on Market Day Mornings to receive the Votes and Interest of the Butchers, Barbers, Taylors, Blacksmiths &c. which form a Chief Part of our worshipful Corporation." Canvassing and cajoling would continue right up to election day, when, this observer predicted, "a Quarter Cask of Vidonia or adulterated Madeira will be exposed to the Populace . . . and we expect to hear Ralfe and Liberty sounded through out Streets with all the Noise of Parliamenteering Triumph." Although it is not likely that he possessed the charisma of the politically harassed English publicist John Wilkes—note the allusion to the slogan, "Wilkes and Liberty!"—Squire Ralfe won his place and was re-elected the following year. His success as a popular fellow seems to have been rather a misfortune for him, or so thought some of his sniffish associates, one of whom soon reported that Ralfe was "going fast" and avoiding his old friends "lest we should interrupt his Felicity with a class of Plebians we don't approve of."<sup>13</sup>

#### -IV-

There was ample opportunity for leadership in Lancaster for gentlemen who would be leaders. The thirty-six men who served as burgesses between 1742 and 1789 represented thirty-one families, suggesting at least no familial monopoly. But there did exist a certain elitism of consanguinity, revealed by the fact that about a half-dozen families enjoyed a degree of prestige and popularity which gained for them long and recurring tenure as officers of the town. Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn and his son, Frederick, both physicians, served as burgesses for a combined total of eleven years.



John DeHoff, tanner, and his son Henry, a saddler, were burgesses for a combined total of seven terms, while the brothers Bernard and Michael Hubley, shopkeeper and innkeeper, respectively, enjoyed a similar prestige for a combined total of six years. These constituted the only instances in which members of the same family occupied the town's highest political post; but Cookson, Worrall Boudé, Voight, Atlee, and Bausman were names suggestive of special eminence in town politics.<sup>14</sup>

Prominent Germans were included among the leaders in the borough. From the time of incorporation it was clear that this would be the case, for the Governor named a German shopkeeper, Sebastian Groff, one of the first two burgesses. This native of Offenheim, who settled in Lancaster in 1740, was a busy tradesman more inclined to business than to politics; when his two-year term was over, he became a gentleman farmer, devoting part of his time to the gristmill and the considerable landholdings he acquired outside of the town.<sup>15</sup> Of the thirty-six individuals who were burgesses in this period, nineteen were of the same national background as Groff; nine of the seventeen chief burgesses were Germans; and the ranks of the assistants were filled mainly with "Dutchmen."

Certainly the most popular political leader of Lancaster in this period, and the progenitor of its most distinguished German family, was Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn. A native of Swabia, this trusted physician came to the borough from Germantown in 1740. His impressive political career began nine years later when he was first elected chief burgess, a post which he held continuously until 1757, longer than anyone else in the history of the town. Active in county and Provincial politics, as well as in the affairs of the borough, Kuhn served as a county justice of the peace, as an important leader of the Germans who supported the Proprietary faction in their dispute with those who would have the colony placed under royal control during the 1760's, and as a delegate to the Provincial Convention (1774).<sup>16</sup>

There was resentment in some quarters that Germans should occupy high positions of leadership in the borough. In 1752, for example, Dr. Kuhn brought suit against Peter Worrall, a genteel Quaker hosteler who had himself formerly been a burgess, charging that the latter had insulted him and impugned the dignity of his office. It appears that Worrall had attempted to intervene with Kuhn on behalf of a friend who had run afoul of the law; but events not proceeding to his satisfaction, he "shouted with a loud voice" that "I . . . understand the office of a burgess better than you . . . and I will see that my Friend shall have justice, and you . . . being a Dutchman cannot understand your Duty as well as myself . . . ." Kuhn then ordered Worrall out of his house, and when the innkeeper refused to depart asked the constable to remove him. At this point, Worrall

threatened in a most un-Friendly manner that if the constable "or any other person shall presume to lay hands upon me . . . I . . . will raise the Town . . . in a minute." Although Kuhn insisted that such behavior was "to the evil and dangerous example of . . . others" the grand jury ignored the case.<sup>17</sup>

Despite the fact that they were outnumbered in the population, the British community in Lancaster produced an impressive and disproportionately large roster of political leaders who were almost always to be found at the highest levels of town government. Sixteen of the thirty-six burgesses in this period were British, as were eight of the seventeen chief burgesses. In six separate elections, indeed, both the posts of chief and lesser burgess were won by "Engellanders." The latter situation—however much it testifies to the popularity of the men concerned—was not characteristic. On the whole, the British and Germans were represented almost equally in the town's highest leadership positions; in fact, for thirty-one of the years between 1742 and 1790 one burgess came from each group. When the ratio of Germans in the town's population is recalled, the political success of the British becomes all the more striking. Religion was one factor in their success, which will be shown shortly, and their popularity was especially great in the period prior to the French and Indian War. It would seem that the voters of the town chose their leaders in terms of factors other than national background. But the paucity of evidence concerning political factions in the town and the issues which animated elections makes it impossible to arrive at firm conclusions concerning the ethnic and ideological context of borough elections.<sup>18</sup>

The most popular British leader of the town in this period was the first Chief Burgess, Thomas Cookson, who held that post every year but one from 1742 to 1749. A Yorkshire man, bred to the law in England, he settled in Lancaster in 1738 and, through a happy combination of merit, popularity, and well-placed Provincial and Proprietary connections, quickly rose to become "one of the highest magisterial personages" of his day, the most prominent English leader of the town and the surrounding countryside. His receipt of a commission of the peace in 1738, as well as his appointment as the town's first chief burgess and his elevation to the posts of prothonotary and recorder for Lancaster County in 1744, were doubtless a consequence of Cookson's friendship with Governor George Thomas, with whom he frequently corresponded about Indian-white relations in the back country. For a long period, Cookson served as one of the Proprietary surveyors, laying out the town of York in 1741 and assisting in the founding of Carlisle eight years later. That his popularity and reputation were not confined to people in high places, however, is suggested by his electoral success in the borough.<sup>19</sup>

The British leaders of Lancaster were not elected to office merely because of their national background. Other attributes were considered in determining their suitability as leaders. Religion had something to do with it—at least in the case of the earliest “Engellanders” to attain political office. Although the available evidence does not allow precise delineation of the extent to which politics in the borough involved matters of faith,<sup>20</sup> certain patterns do exist. To be sure, the burgesses were drawn from every religious group present in the town except the Roman Catholic and Jewish. But the British residents who were elected burgesses prior to 1766 were, with but one exception, Quakers, who enjoyed local political popularity far out of proportion to their number. (Cookson, the first chief burgess, was an Anglican.) In fifteen of the twenty-one years between 1742 and 1763 at least one of the burgesses was a Quaker; in 1761 both burgesses were Friends. The prominence of this group in the politics of Lancaster mirrored the hegemony they enjoyed in Provincial politics until the French and Indian War, a pre-eminence partly to be accounted for by a strong Quaker-German alliance. It may well be, moreover, that politics in the town turned somewhat upon issues that stirred the colony as a whole, that, indeed, there may have been formal political ties between Provincial and local Quaker leaders. But the absence of any data concerning issues in borough elections leaves us in the dark on that score.

Whatever the importance of nationality, religion, or the positions taken on local or Provincial issues in determining the suitability of candidates for local office, these factors were all subordinate to considerations of status in the community. Merit, coupled with high economic and social standing, was the essential requisite for the exercise of leadership, however democratic the formal structure and electorate of the town's government might be, or the degree of opportunity for popular participation in the decision-making process. Throughout the period from 1742 to 1790, the burgesses were—almost to a man—among the wealthiest four per cent and the most prominent of the town's residents.<sup>21</sup> Occupation was no barrier to preferment, however; the voters of the borough, in choosing the burgesses, showed almost equal favor to professional men, businessmen, and artisans. Between 1742 and the end of the period, eleven of the chief magistrates were drawn from the first group, twelve from the second, and twelve from the third; the occupation of one burgess cannot be ascertained.

Although they were least numerous in the adult male population, professional men proved immensely popular as leaders, doubtless because of the very fact of their being gentlemen employed in occupations accorded high status. For thirty-two of the forty-eight years covered in this analysis, at least one of the burgesses came from this group. Cookson and Kuhn

were clearly the most popular of them, as is well attested by the long tenure which each enjoyed as burgess. But some of their counterparts in the town did well politically, also. Dr. Samuel Boudé, a physician, was five times elected a burgess, three of them chief burgess. Colonel James Burd, an immigrant from Ireland who distinguished himself as an officer in the Pennsylvania militia, had a sufficient "Interest" in the borough to be chosen as its chief magistrate in 1765. In 1768, Christian Voight, "Surgeon," was elected a burgess and was returned to the office in three successive elections.<sup>22</sup>

Representatives of the mercantile interest in the town were as adept as the professional men in gaining positions as burgesses. There was, however, a curious pattern in their leadership. In each of the first six years after the town's incorporation, a businessman was elected to one of the burgess posts—but never to the position of chief burgess. There occurred, furthermore, a ten-year hiatus (1749-1759) in which no representative of this group held either of the town's highest political posts. During the thirty subsequent years, however, a businessman occupied at least one of these places in eighteen years and that of chief burgess in fourteen. The late but sustained popularity of businessmen in the politics of the town coincided to some extent with Lancaster's most flourishing commercial years; it would thus appear, that as the town reaped its greatest rewards as a trading center its businessmen came into their own as leaders. Aside from Sebastian Groff, one of the men appointed by Governor Thomas to a seat as burgess, the only other businessman of similar stature politically before the French and Indian War was Peter Worrall, the Quaker innkeeper who won election to high office for five consecutive years after 1745. One of the earliest settlers in Lancaster—he was assigned his first lot in 1735—and a leading figure in county as well as borough affairs, Worrall was named justice of the peace on various occasions and was a member of the Assembly. The greater frequency of business leadership in the town after 1759 brought with it the prominence of two shopkeeping brothers, Bernard and Michael Hubley, and the merchant William Bausman.<sup>23</sup>

Distinguished craftsmen were represented at the highest levels of leadership in Lancaster by as many individuals as came from the professional and commercial groups. In 1744, 1778, 1779, and 1786, both of the men elected to the position of burgess were artisans. The equal of their political peers, both in terms of prosperity and the deference accorded them, these leaders were differentiated only by their calling as artificers. When the first elections were held John DeHoff, a tanner who later turned to innkeeping, and James Webb, a prominent Quaker mason, were placed into the office of burgess. Other members of this group who found their way to the top in





#### THE PROPRIETORS OF LANCASTER

*Left.* Andrew Hamilton (c. 1676-1741), by Adolphus Wertmuller (copy from an original now lost). He gained control of the Lancaster township and divided it into lots for speculative purposes. *Right.* His son James (1710-1783), shown here in a portrait by J. Augustus Beck, copied from an original full-length by Benjamin West, became the "landlord" of Lancaster in 1734. *Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*



2nd Meeting of the Burgesses & Assistants of the Borough  
of Lancaster on the 24<sup>th</sup> Day of October 1772

Prison

William Allen Chap. Secy  
Christian Vogel Buick

John Hepler  
William Hurry  
John Lehman  
Lucas & Hager  
Charles A. Brown

*P. leucodonta*      *Teph. leucodonta*  
*capitata*      *capitata*

[illegible]

observed that the vendible value to Christians in the "Butcher" sale  
 year, taken from him by virtue of the "Provisions" for  
 raising the price of food, that was imputed on him for selling  
 what in the market he sold at his own choice, to the said  
 Christians, & well having made a satisfactory account for his  
 behaviour, and having done the service so much intended  
 the market, and having performed so to see the future  
 available to the intent & meaning of the ordinance in such  
 a manner as

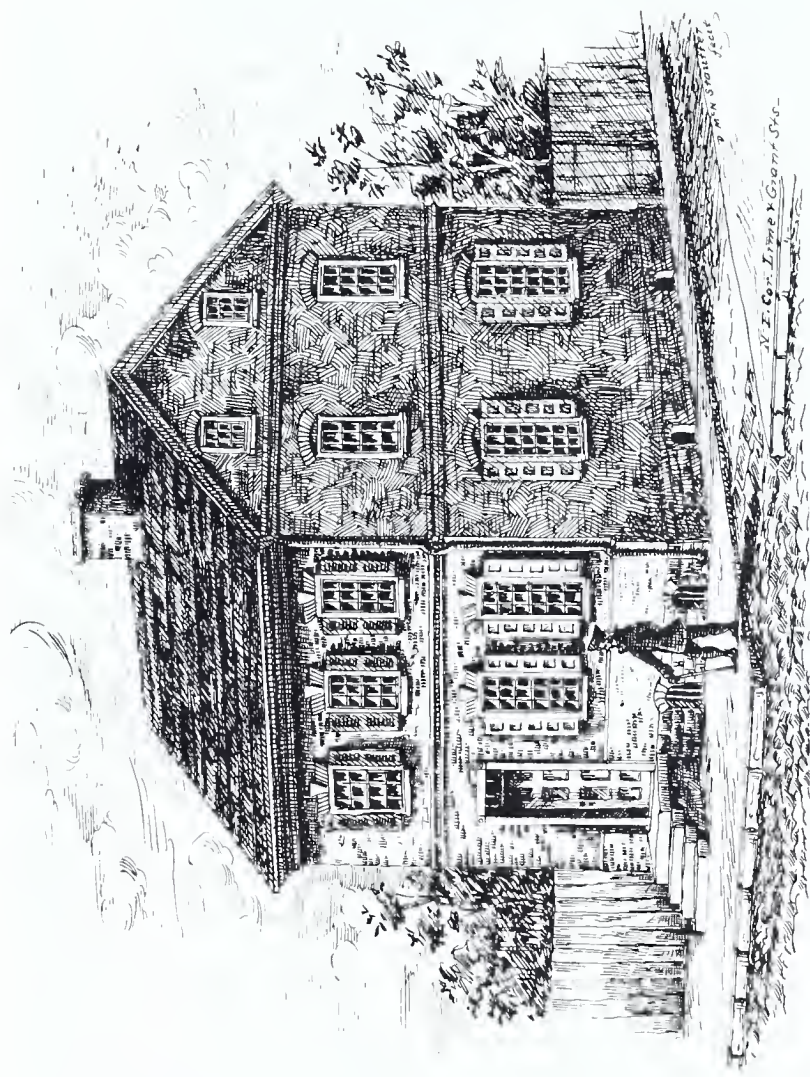
[illegible]

Miss M. B. B.

at the Car. Station.  
N. York.

## THE LANCASTER "CORPORATION BOOK"

In this book, three generations of town clerks—fathers and sons named Caspar Shaffner, all blue dyers—recorded the results of borough elections and the ordinances of early Lancaster. *Courtesy of the Mayor's Office, Lancaster.*



### THE CALEB COPE HOUSE

While he was a prisoner-of-war in Lancaster, Major John André made this watercolor of the house of the Quaker plasterer, where he lodged. Large residential lots made it possible for many Lancastrians to have gardens, giving a somewhat rural appearance to this otherwise urban settlement. *Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*



### LANCASTER "ROW" HOUSES

By the end of the eighteenth century, attached "row" houses with "stoops" or porches began to be seen in Lancaster, especially in the poorer neighborhoods of the borough. *Courtesy of Heritage Center of Lancaster County.*



### TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH

Completed in 1766 and still standing today, this rectangular brick structure of Georgian design is outstanding for its chaste simplicity. Inside, a spacious organ loft is supported by Corinthian pillars; columns of the Ionic order extend from the galleries to the ceiling. *Courtesy of the Lancaster County Historical Society.*





#### "PRINCIPAL INHABITANTS"

*Left.* Edward Shippen (1703-1781), scion of a family distinguished in seventeenth-century Massachusetts and eighteenth-century Pennsylvania; he served as prothonotary of the Lancaster County Court of Common Pleas and recorder for the county Court of Quarter Sessions. *Right.* The lawyer George Ross (1730-1780) was a county representative to the Provincial Assembly and served as a delegate to the first and second Continental Congresses, signing the Declaration of Independence in the latter capacity. Portrait by Albert Rosenthal after an original by Benjamin West. *Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*





the politics of the community included Isaac Whitelock, a Quaker tanner, William Henry, the renowned gunsmith, John Stone, candle-maker, and Henry De Hoff, saddler, son of one of the first elected burgesses. Philip Lenhart (Lenhere), a German saddler elected a burgess in 1757 and again in the following year, was a man of middling means whose political success shows that leadership in borough politics was not limited to the wealthy. Artisans were predominant among the assistants and served with distinction in other areas of the town's administration. Three generations of Shaffners—all of them named Casper, and all blue-dyers—held a virtual monopoly at the town clerk's table.<sup>24</sup>

Some of the borough's political leaders held positions of note in county, Provincial, and national affairs as well. Peter Worrall, the Quaker burgess who thought so ill of Dr. Kuhn's abilities, was for two years simultaneously a member of the Assembly and a burgess. The political career of Isaac Whitelock, a wealthy Quaker tanner, reveals another pattern: having been a member of the Assembly consecutively from 1747 to 1750, he then enjoyed three years of tenure as a Lancaster burgess, after which he returned to his legislative seat for another seven years running. Two other burgesses, James Webb, a Quaker tanner, and George Ross, an attorney and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, served in the Provincial legislature. William Atlee, Lancaster's chief burgess from 1770 to 1774, subsequently became a justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. A few years after his election to Congress in 1783, Edward Hand, an apothecary and an officer in the Continental Army, was elected a Lancaster burgess.<sup>25</sup>

The majority of the men who served as political leaders in the borough were content, it would seem, to have only their brief turn at local political responsibility. In standing election for burgess or assistant, what they sought was not essentially power; for apart from enforcing the ordinances of the corporation and serving as justices of the peace, the holders of these posts had no policy-making authority. It is most likely, in fact, that the men who presented themselves as candidates for places in the government of the town did so primarily as a means of testing and reinforcing their high status as "principal Inhabitants" of the community. Lancaster's was more a politics of prestige than of power.

This is not to deny, however, that the political influence of the borough's leaders extended beyond the town. Politics revolved, to a large extent, around the county seat. Elections to choose delegates to the Provincial Assembly and officers of the county were held there annually at the beginning of October, always preceded by factional maneuvering. Candidates for the Provincial legislature and positions in county government knew full well that the borough represented a sizable number of votes. Edward Ship-

pen, Jr., apparently standing as a candidate for Lancaster Assemblyman in 1756, informed his father that he and another contestant had been advised to be in the borough on election day. "It is a disagreeable task to appear to solicit for one's self," he confided, "but if it is necessary I must submit. You'll please to speak to George Ross, Dr. Kuhn and what others you think have Interest and let me know how the Thing is thought of."<sup>26</sup> Leaders in the county often joined with their factional adherents among the borough's bigwigs to "fix a Ticket"—that is, select a slate of candidates—for Assemblymen and the several positions in county government. Colonel James Burd, an officer of the Pennsylvania militia who was elected a burgess in 1765, wrote his friend Samuel Purviance of Philadelphia, merchant, a year earlier that "Saturday last being the day of Election for Burgesses in this Borough, we embrac'd the opportunity to settle a Ticket for our Representatives in Assembly &c. according to the custom of the county . . . [and] we gave public Notice we were to meet at Crawford's Tavern in the Town to settle the Ticket. [We] met accordingly (that is the New side) [and] we sent some of our People to find out the old side, if they were met anywhere, that if they were in any measure inclined to make a Gen'l Ticket they might still have an Opportunity on Reasonable Terms with this Exception only, that neither of the two Men to be added . . . should be Quakers or Men whose opinions are in any Degree known to be for a change of our present Government."<sup>27</sup> That the political leaders and "the principal Inhabitants" of the borough carried considerable weight in the politics of the county is made clear in a letter written by the attorney Jasper Yeates to a friend in 1769: "The other day I enclosed you a Ticket. Since that there has been another meeting (some objections having been made by persons in Town with respect to some of the Assessors) and upon a fresh consultation between Bougham, Myer, Eaby and a great many of the respectable People in Town, the inclosed Ticket is fixed on and determined to be carried if possible." The opposition, he added, had kept their slate a secret; "'tis thought that they only waited for this Ticket to be finished that they might include some other Persons of the Town in theirs and so divide us. [So] you see the Town . . . is become of some consequence and stands a chance of being courted by both sides."<sup>28</sup> By 1769 Lancaster was a populous settlement and its voters represented tremendous potential for contestants in county elections.

— V —

There was one dimension of government in Lancaster that brings into sharper focus a truly popular element in the formal structure of the town's administration, but which serves at the same time to highlight a potential

shortcoming of popular decision-making. It has already been suggested that the burgesses and assistants were not the makers of policy in Lancaster; theirs was only judicial and executive power in the borough. The legislative authority rested with a majority of the adult white men of the community. The charter empowered the burgesses, assistants, and high constable to assemble "town meetings" whenever necessary to "make such ordinances and rules as to the greatest number of the Inhabitants may seem necessary and convenient for the Government of the Borough."<sup>29</sup>

The requirements for participation in the Lancaster town meeting raise some problems. Just who was included in the designation "Inhabitants" is not clear in the above instance, for no further definition is offered. If, as I am inclined to believe, the word was construed in this case in the same manner as in the provisions defining who could vote in town elections, then tenants who paid £5 or more in rent for their houses—as well as freeholders—were included in the meeting. It may be, however, that all housekeepers, freeholders, and tenants paying any amount of rent, could participate in the meeting.

What is most important in the provisions for a town meeting is the implicit assumption that the community could best be governed through inclusiveness and consensual majoritarianism. In this respect, Lancaster's government was somewhat more democratic than those popular polities established for Chester and Bristol, Pennsylvania, in earlier years, not to mention the closed corporation that characterized Philadelphia. The charter converting the first two towns into corporations also authorized the burgesses and constable "to summon and assemble Town Meetings." But there was a significant difference between these towns and Lancaster insofar as the potential number of people included in the decision-making process is concerned. In the case of the older settlements, the corporations were empowered to enact such rules and ordinances "as to the greatest part of the Town Meeting" seemed necessary and convenient.<sup>30</sup> But in Lancaster such regulations had to be approved by "the greatest part of the Inhabitants." This meant, in fact, that if a majority of the inhabitants did not attend the town meeting, some other means of ascertaining their response to proposed ordinances had to be devised—and, in the meantime, government could not fully proceed.

Despite the evident intention that it should be so, it is not clear that Lancaster's town meeting ever included all the eligible housekeepers. So that the inhabitants might have "some certain Notice" of the time of meetings, an ordinance of 1743 directed the High Constable to "give two Days" announcement beforehand.<sup>31</sup> The implication here is equivocal; either there was interest in the gatherings but uncertainty as to when they could occur; or, as I am inclined to believe, there was relatively little interest in them

and the magistrates sought to increase attendance. A shift in the site of the convocations suggests low attendance, that less than a majority of the persons eligible to attend the meetings actually did so. Whereas the earliest meetings were held in the courthouse, by the 1760's and continuing for the rest of the period, they were almost always held at the home of an inn-keeper among the burgesses or assistants. In 1783, for example, Valentine Breneisen, an assistant and a publican, received 9s.4d. "for Expenses of the Corporation at his House different times."<sup>32</sup> Since it is not likely that any Lancaster hostelry could accommodate all of the men eligible to attend the town meeting—this might have amounted to at least three hundred men by as early as 1759—it is reasonable to conclude that by that time less than a majority of them were actually attending. Yet, the charter required that policy for the community be made only with the consent of "the greatest part of the Inhabitants."

The burgesses and assistants felt themselves hedged yet bound by this constitutional requirement, and eventually resorted to canvassing the housekeepers in an effort to ascertain their sentiments on proposed ordinances. This was, quite obviously, a cumbersome, time-consuming procedure. Indeed, in a petition to the Assembly in 1772 the town's magistrates and some others of the residents complained of the difficulty encountered in trying to secure the required popular approval for legislation; they found it "inconvenient and even impractical to collect the Voices of the Majority of the Inhabitants without attending at their Houses for that Purpose." Given this situation, the petitioners asked the Assembly to grant to the Burgesses the power—"for the time being"—to act "in matters relative to the Borough and its Inhabitants as fully and effectually as Justices of the Peace for the County, and to enable the Burgesses and Assistants . . . to make Rules and Ordinances for the Government thereof in some constitutional way less troublesome and more convenient" than through the town meeting procedure.<sup>33</sup> Faced with the malfunctioning of the most popular feature of borough government, some residents acted to have transferred to the town's elected leaders full policy-making authority.

How to account for the failure? Why should attendance have been low, a situation which bespoke the failure of popular government in this community? For the majority of the housekeepers were clearly remiss in fulfilling their civic responsibilities. Several explanations for this development may be brought forward for analysis. Perhaps it is significant that the majority of the housekeepers were immigrants from parts of Europe, mainly Germany, where there was no tradition of popular participation in government. Habits long ingrained in a people rarely change quickly; and it would thus not be surprising if the majority of the housekeepers, unaccustomed to doing so, did not participate in the decision-making



processes of the town to the full extent of their opportunity to do so. On the other hand, it may well be that the English-speaking inhabitants of the borough were no less remiss than the Germans in attending the town meeting. There is no evidence from which we might ascertain this fact. Possibly, one might argue that the majority of Lancastrians, being unfamiliar with the English language, would not have been able fully to understand what transpired at the meetings, and that this would explain their failure to attend. The proceedings were conducted in English, but had there been a desire on the part of the German-speaking housekeepers to participate in the meetings to a greater extent than they did, it is more than likely that translators could have been provided to assist those people who needed them. Indeed, had there been great interest in the meetings, interpreters would doubtless have been *demandé*. Moreover, the language constraint would have applied principally to the immigrants rather than to their children; it would have been much less a factor after the 1770's. Certainly, the low attendance at town meetings did not jibe with the interest shown in the apparently hotly contested borough elections.<sup>34</sup> But it may be that Lancastrians, once having decided who their leaders would be, were uninterested in the day-to-day government of the town.

Another explanation for the failure of most of the qualified townsmen to participate in the government of their community might be related to the town's class structure. There was in the borough significant inequality of wealth and an "abundance of poor people" (see Chapter 8). There has always seemed to be a relationship in the democratic political process between socio-economic layering and the level of participation in civic affairs, with individuals at the lower end of the wealth scale tending to take a less active part in political decision-making.

There is yet another possible explanation for the failure of the majority of the housekeepers to attend the town meeting—one which would seem to eclipse all others, and which would, moreover, apply equally to the British and German townspeople. It must be remembered that the Lancaster town meeting—unlike the famed New England type—did not have the authority to tax or to distribute land, powers which have ever been a spur to active participation in representative bodies. On the contrary, the Lancaster town meeting was empowered to discuss and to enact ordinances concerning only the most mundane, non-fiscal matters such as the prevention of fire hazards, the maintenance of common walls and fences, the yoking of hogs, the care of the market place and of the streets, and similar concerns. Considerations of this sort were hardly likely to engender widespread participation in government. But had matters of a fiscal nature, or the distribution of real estate, been within the purview of the town meeting, they quite probably would have evoked considerable interest and, con-



sequently, encouraged fuller participation in the town meeting.<sup>35</sup> In the absence of such issues lay the explanation for the failure of town meeting government in the borough.

It would seem, at any rate, that the level of population growth and urban development reached in Lancaster by the 1770's rendered the town meeting a less than efficient instrument of government in certain respects. The particular impetus for the request by the burgesses, assistants, and some "principal Inhabitants" in 1772 that the officers of the town be endowed with policy-making authority for the borough was the need to revise the town's building code and to provide for the better regulation of the streets and alleys. The Assembly did not invest the magistrates with the additional power they sought, but it did create two new categories of specialized administrators for the town. "Surveyors or Regulators of the Streets" were thenceforth to be appointed annually by the elected magistrates, and were given *autonomous* power "to direct the regulation of the streets, lanes, and alleys, and of the footways at the sides of the streets, and fronting the houses and lots in the . . . borough." They were also authorized to make inspections in enforcement of the town's building code. Moreover, the Provincial legislature empowered the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town who were qualified to elect burgesses and assistants to choose yearly "three discrete and reputable freeholders of the town to be Supervisors of the Highways and two to be Assessors." These two latter officials were immediately responsible for the upkeep of those sections of the Provincial roads ("King's Highways") which ran through the town. Very significantly, they were permitted to collect annual rates "not exceeding one shilling in the pound on the clear yearly value of the real and personal estates of all and every the freeholders and inhabitants" of Lancaster, the funds to be used to "amend, repair, and keep clean" all of the town's streets, lanes, alleys, and highways.<sup>36</sup> The larger scope of their responsibility stated in the latter provision was, undoubtedly, occasioned by Lancaster's significance as a Provincial trading center and county seat.

In creating the posts of "Surveyors or Regulators of the Streets," the Assembly augmented the degree of administrative specialization in the government of the borough. Moreover, in the very process of allowing the assessors to collect a property tax from the freeholders and inhabitants of the borough, the Assembly gave to the corporation a fiscal power it had never before possessed—though, to be sure, it set the limits within which that power could be exercised. Thus, in at least one dimension of the government of Lancaster—the maintenance of thoroughfares and the enforcement of the building code—it was no longer necessary for the town meeting to act. There resulted from these developments a modification in

governmental structure which, if it reduced the scope of popular decision-making in Lancaster, was beneficial to the needs of the community.

Eventually, the town meeting apparently ceased to exist altogether as a popular body. Whereas the corporation had been defined in earlier years as consisting of the elected magistrates and the inhabitants—that is, the officers, freeholders, and certain housekeepers—by 1788 “the corporation” appears to have meant in fact only the elected magistrates. In September of that year “the corporation” appointed a committee “to frame Rules and Ordinances for the Government of the Corporation when assembled.”<sup>37</sup> The procedures subsequently adopted provided for the due announcement of meetings, for the orderly conduct of business through rules of order, and for the fining of “members” who failed to attend meetings without prior excuse. What is arresting here is the suggestion that these meetings involved only a handful of men—in fact, only the burgesses, assistants, and other elected officials, not an assemblage of the housekeepers of the town. The meetings were to be called “at such places as a majority of the members [of the corporation] shall think fit, and at such times as the chief Burgess, or in his absence, the second Burgess shall direct.”<sup>38</sup>

## –VI–

As a chartered town, Lancaster enjoyed many privileges of self-government. But its fiscal limitations—its dependence upon the Pennsylvania legislature for special enabling legislation in the matter of taxation—deprived it of essential powers necessary for facing the problems incident to the town's growth. Only late in the period was the corporation granted taxing authority. Implicit in the governmental structure of Lancaster was an assumption that the best interests of the community could be served politically by inclusiveness and majoritarian participation among its men. Elected magistrates, the permissive requirements for the exercise of the franchise in borough elections, and the stipulation that all locally made ordinances have the approval of the majority of the inhabitants indicate clearly the desire that Lancaster's should be—by eighteenth-century standards—a popular government. Such an arrangement would seem exceedingly appropriate for a community as diverse and privatistic as early Lancaster, where the determination of the public good might result ideally from the harmonizing of a variety of individual or group interests. But the actual history of government in the borough did not altogether conform to the characteristics suggested by its formal structure. Starting with a remarkably majoritarian base, the government of the borough was actually less politically democratic a half-century later. Indifference on the part of the residents eligible to attend the town meeting, vis-a-vis the

requirement in the town charter that political decision making be done by a majority of the inhabitants, actually served to hinder the efficient government of the town by the 1770's. To the present-day observer, these factors can serve to underscore the hollowness of democratic political forms in the absence of economic capacity in a local political entity. This encumbrance, this somewhat inconvenient democracy, was eliminated only by the further differentiation of governmental structure and responsibility, the creation of new, specialized, independent agencies of administration. By 1790, Lancaster's government was less popular than it had been designed to be. The creation of new agencies of local administration was, to be sure, in the interest of efficiency—no small consideration for a fast-rising and increasingly urban community. At the same time the failure of the town meeting deprived the residents of the town of a majoritarian gathering that could have tempered the atomistic tendencies of pluralistic individualism and engendered a stronger sense of community.

CHAPTER TWO

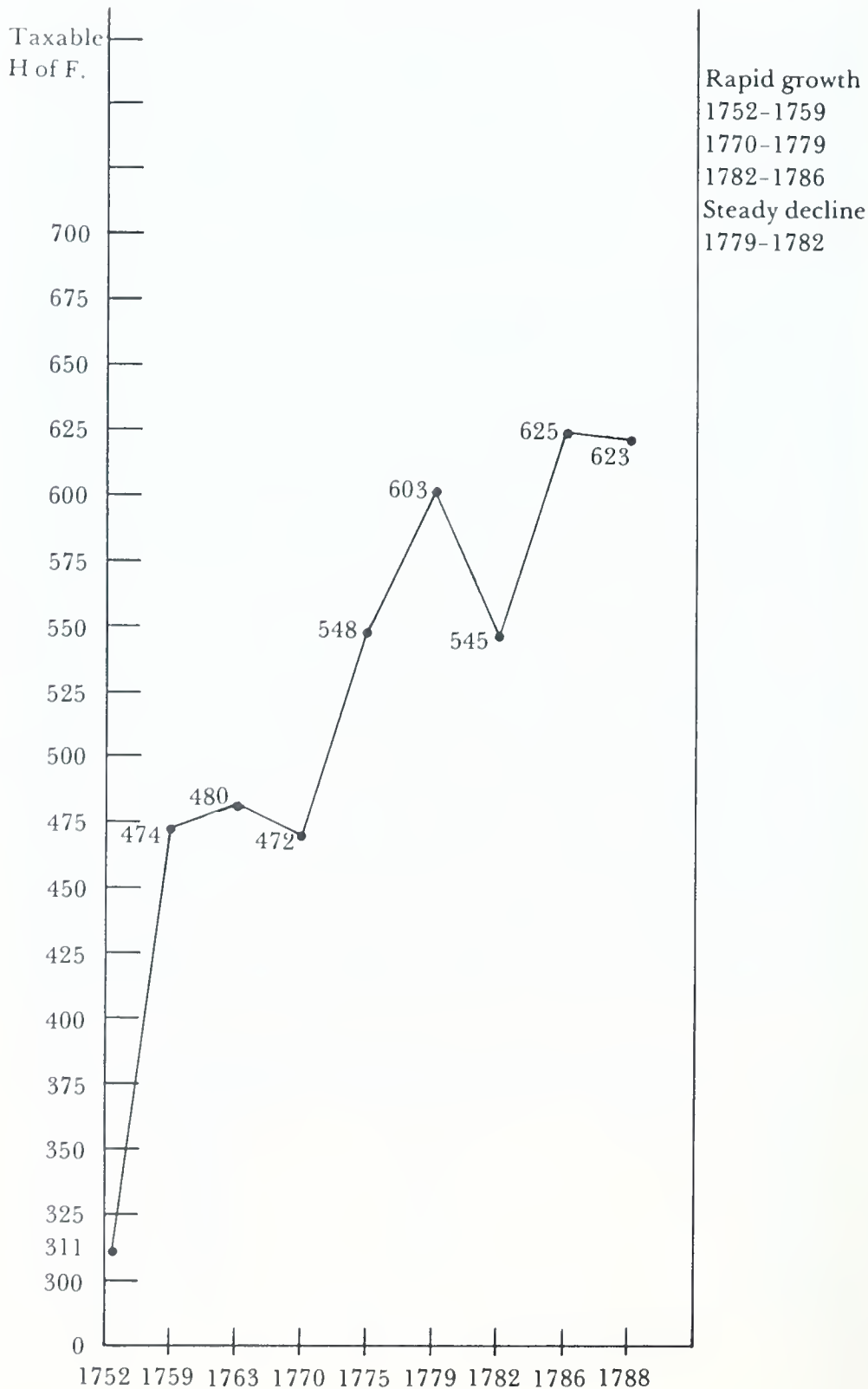
*The Well-ordering  
of Lancaster*

THE RAPID growth which marked the first twelve years of Lancaster's history continued in the succeeding decades. When the Rev. Richard Locke, first rector of the Anglican Church, arrived in the town in 1746, he estimated that there were "about 300 Houses, which increase to [by] near 20 every year." Two years later, the new minister of the Lutheran congregation reported that there were "about 400 houses, with more still being built. On account of the good livelihood," he continued, "people still come here, so that in a few years it must probably become a large and populous city." This rapid development was a source of astonishment not only to the local residents, but also to visitors and people in other parts of the Province as well. A committee of the Assembly reported with amazement in 1752 that there were 311 taxables in "the fine Town of Lancaster, a Town not much more than Twenty years old." "You will not see many inland towns in England so large as this," remarked a British visitor three years later, "and none that are so regular."<sup>1</sup> By 1770, Lancaster and the area surrounding it had lost their frontier aspect and taken on the characteristics of "improved" and thickly settled country. As the Rev. Thomas Barton boasted in 1771, "the County of Lancaster (which 40 years ago was, by the English, call'd the *Back Woods*, and by the Germans the *Bush*, i.e. the *Desert*) would now with its improvements sell for *half a Million* of Money." By the eve of the Revolution, the town had become a little city—a word used by visitors in describing it—not infrequently compared

LANCASTER POPULATION, 1746–1790<sup>2</sup>

Year	Houses	Heads of Families	Estimated Population
1746	c. 300		1,500
1759		474	2,840
1770		472	2,832
1775		548	3,288
1779		603	3,618
1786		625	3,750
1790			3,772 (census)

# LANCASTER POPULATION, 1752-1788





with Philadelphia, and was larger than any other inland settlement in the British mainland colonies. "On the whole," some of the residents had noted with understandable pride not long before this, "it may be observed without incurring the Censure of Partiality, that *Lancaster* stands foremost of all the other In-land Towns on the Continent of *America*."<sup>3</sup>

If the town grew rapidly, it did not enlarge at an even rate. Three periods of accelerated growth can be detected, the first of them running from the founding of the town until about 1759. Immigration contributed heavily to the peopling of the settlement in these years, as a large number of newcomers arrived from Germany and northern Ireland. Prior to the town's incorporation, that is between 1730 and 1741, at least 136 lots were assigned. And during the next ten years at least 188 more were taken up. A particularly heavy influx of new settlers arrived between 1742 and 1746 alone, when 114 lots were assigned. The rate of growth slowed considerably between 1759 and 1770, but in the succeeding nine years the number of families in the borough increased by more than a hundred. There seems to have been a marked drop in the number of families between 1779 and 1782, but during the next eight years the population returned to its 1779 level (see the graph depicting Lancaster's population movements). Down to the outbreak of the War for Independence, Lancaster's population growth was the result largely of immigration, but from that time forward growth was due to generation.<sup>4</sup>

As the building squares immediately surrounding the courthouse were filled with settlers, the borough began to expand outwardly—first to the area west and northwest of the center square, then to the region east and northeast of the original area of settlement.<sup>5</sup> The borough quickly enlarged beyond the confines originally laid out by the town proprietor. Several individuals, speculators aiming to be town founders themselves and counting, doubtless, on the continued growth of Lancaster, purchased land adjacent to the townsite, divided it into lots, and thus created separate villages. In 1744, Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn laid out forty-six lots on a fifteen-acre tract that he purchased near the southeast corner of the town. Following the precedent set by Lancaster's proprietor, the doctor awarded his lots upon exacting a promise from the grantees to build houses upon them promptly and then collected yearly ground rents from them. Almost all of the German immigrants arriving in the community in 1744 settled in "Adams Town" rather than in Lancaster proper; and a few persons already resident in the older town took up lots in the new village. As Dr. Kuhn had probably expected, Hamilton bought this land and the rents from him in 1750, after which the younger settlement became a part of the borough. It remained for a long time a close-knit German community, the most thickly inhabited—and also the poorest—neighborhood of the town.<sup>6</sup>

Other speculators followed Kuhn's example. In 1760, Hamilton's Lancaster agent informed him that the executors of Hans Musser, a nearby farmer, had laid out "30 or 40 Lotts" near Queen Street, southeast of the borough. Two years later, a report circulated that the attorney George Ross intended to provide lots near the town "which is to raise him one Hundred Pounds Sterling p. anm." The Quaker tanner Isaac Whitelock, the innkeeper Samuel Bethel, and Sebastian Groff, merchant, undertook similar ventures; and James Webb, a thriving Quaker mason, talked of "following their Example one of these days." Apprised of the injuries that these schemes might pose for his own interests—since the speculators "have or can supply the risen Generation of Lancaster and some others with Lots"—Hamilton appears not to have been disturbed. The tracts laid out by Musser and Bethel were regarded politically as part of the borough community and the heads of families and single men there were included on the assessment lists for Lancaster. When Musser's land went up for sale in 1768, Hamilton was urged to purchase it and did so in the following year. Sixteen years later, the town proprietor—by now it was William Hamilton, James's nephew—further extended the town plan, and sold new outlots as well.<sup>7</sup>

Not unexpectedly, as the town increased in size and improvement, land values within and around it rose. The early practice of establishing ground rents in the town on a sterling basis—computed before the 1780's at 12s. Pennsylvania currency for every 7s. sterling—and "in Proportion to the Situation of the Lots" was adhered to; but the "Proportion" was surely rising. Lots near the courthouse or market place, as well as those on King Street, always carried a higher rent than others. In the 1740's, homesites near the two principal public buildings carried £3 and £4 sterling rents. In 1762, however, the shopkeeper Joseph Simon paid £15 sterling rent per year for a lot at the southwest corner of the square. Most of the other lots taken up in the town from the middle of the century carried an annual ground rent of 14s. Rising rents discouraged many potential lot-takers. The proprietor's Lancaster agent informed him in 1760 that the people were not willing to pay the £3 sterling annual ground rent for lots on King Street. "Nor do they choose to be concerned about the back Lots at 14/p. anm.," he added. In explaining to Hamilton why no lots were being taken up in 1769, the agent noted that "Some People complain that the prices are too high." The rise in Hamilton's ground rents may well have been the factor encouraging new settlers in the community to get their lots from Kuhn, Musser, and other speculators in the hamlets adjacent to the borough. Adamstown rents were uniformly 7s. sterling when Hamilton bought them in 1750; and all but one of Musser's lots carried a rent of 13s. sterling. As land values in the borough increased, those in the immediate vicin-

ity rose as well. Hamilton complained as early as 1752 of the difficulties he encountered "in his late Purchases about the Town of Lancaster, being obliged to give five times the Money he might have had [this land] for ten or twelve years ago." When the town plan was "continued" in 1784, the ground rents were raised; lots at the south end of the town were assessed at 15s. per annum and those in other parts of the borough at 20s. "Corner lots should always be held a third higher than others in the same range," the town proprietor informed his agent.<sup>8</sup>

Over the years, Lancaster became more attractive, and its edifices appeared more substantial. Its pleasing appearance overall was due largely to the fact that as the town developed, the plan designed for it by Andrew Hamilton was generally adhered to. A visitor of 1744 noted that the borough was "conveniently laid out into sundry streets and one main street [King Street], in the midst of which stands the court house and market. . . . There are several cross streets on each side of the main street, which are indifferently well built as to the quantity of houses." The "regularity" of the town has always impressed travellers passing through. "I have never seen a prettier place than Lancaster except Philadelphia," Reading Beatty commented; and the comparison with the capital city also struck Thomas Penn when he stopped in Lancaster in 1788. "The town itself has a far superior appearance to any I had passed through," he asserted, "the streets are regular and the sides are paved with brick like Philadelphia, or else stone; and separated by posts from the street." Nor did many of the travellers who commented on Lancaster fail to appreciate its near-idyllic setting. "It is situated in one of the most lovely and luxuriant regions in the country," noted Elkanah Watson, "delightfully diversified with waving hills, pleasant dales, adorned by lovely scenery, and highly cultivated farms—in a word, all that can invite to a pastoral life." In the autumn, the resident and visitor alike could see on the skirts of the town fields of Indian corn and buckwheat, which made "a pleasing object, add to which the Trees bending beneath the ripening Fruits [and] Herds of Cows, Oxen, and Sheep fattening on luxurious Pastures."<sup>9</sup>

The attitude of the visitor toward the town itself and its location depended, in part, on the direction from which he approached it. Most visitors, and many local residents, too, disliked the lowness and unevenness of the southern and western portions of the borough. "It was built," in the opinion of an inhabitant, "on a Ground which is too Low, the surface of the earth not being so even and Level as might reasonably be expected from a Place of such Business." One visitor thought the town's situation "disagreeable" since it appeared to lie "between two hills"; and another sojourner, who doubtless first entered the settlement from the south, noted that "it makes no appearance until you are got into it, as it lies in a

bottom." Unable to see all of the expanding borough at first hand, travellers who stopped there in the years after the Revolution preferred to characterize it by viewing it from a particular perspective—the sure sign of a large community. "I was quite delighted," noted one such commentator, "with the view we [had] from the corner of the street where the prison stands of the Upper part of the town, which at once presents to your sight a sudden rise, with houses, trees, and gardens, on either side, that has a very pleasant effect." Others, too, appreciated the gardens which graced nearly every town lot and which added a great measure of picturesqueness to the borough in the spring and summer seasons. "This town," wrote a British prisoner of war during the Revolution, "from the mode of laying it out, by which every house is allowed a garden, appears to be situated in a wilderness of fruit trees, whose diversity of bloom, blended and interrupted by houses, churches, etc. . . . forms altogether a most enchanting scene."<sup>10</sup>

"The houses for the most part are built and covered with wood," reported a participant in the Lancaster Indian treaty conference of 1744, "except some few which are built of brick and stone. They are generally low, seldom exceeding two stories."<sup>11</sup> Throughout this period, most of the houses of Lancaster were probably wooden buildings of one story and a half, many of them built of squared logs, as in the earliest days, with the interstices filled or "chinked" with stones or wedges of wood plastered over with lime, mortar, or clay. As late as 1751, three houses built with square logs and "well furnished" were advertised for sale, along with "a good square log Houser of two stories."<sup>12</sup> Occasionally, these frame structures might have a brick kitchen adjoining them. Examples of the early half-timber German construction were still to be seen in parts of the town in the 1780's, as well as one-story stone houses.

Despite the prevalence of wooden domestic construction, there was a steady increase in the number of brick dwellings and in their size. A brick house on the market square, sold in 1751, was "two stories high, with a brick kitchen in it, and a cellar underneath." "4 Fire-places, Closets, etc." were among the noteworthy features of a house sold by the attorney Joseph Rose in 1753, and "a brick kitchen with a room behind the same in which is a Dutch stove [oven]" adorned a two-story brick dwelling for sale in 1768. Some of Lancaster's more "elegant" houses climbed to a height of three stories, in arrogant testimony of their owners' rising fortunes—or, at least, their expectations. When he built such a house on Queen Street, "very near the Court House," in 1766, John Miller, blacksmith, astonished everyone—including an indignant Edward Shippen, who knew that it was as good as or better than the elegant one he rented. It was, reportedly, "the best in the Town," and although Miller intended originally to rent it, he seems to have decided that he was good enough to live in it himself.



Shippen, who always thought the blacksmith's castle "too large . . . for his circumstances," was probably not surprised when Miller subsequently tried to rent it—to him! "The Boot and Crown" tavern, sold by its owner in 1722, was three stories high, contained a cellar under the entire structure as well as "an arched cellar under the pavement . . . with a never failing stream of water running through the same"; adjoining this stood "a large brick stable capable of holding 50 or 60 horses." A new and popular architectural feature of Lancaster houses appeared after the Revolution with the addition of porches "where the inhabitants sit and enjoy the fresh air, and view the people passing."<sup>13</sup>

Among the public buildings of the borough, a few were of outstanding architectural merit. The county courthouse, which stood in the middle of the central square until it was destroyed by fire in 1784, was "a very large brick building two stories high. The ground room where the justices of this county hold their court is very spacious. There is a handsome bench, and railed in, whereon they sit, and a chair in the midst of it, which is filled by the judge." Below this, a large, half-oval table accommodated the county clerk and the several attorneys of the court; there were special seats, too, for the sheriff, crier, and others. "Fronting the justices bench, and on each side of it, are several long steps or stairs, raised each above the other, like the steps leading into the north door of St. Paul's [London?]. On these steps stand the several auditors and spectators when a court is held here." According to the author of this description, the courtroom could accommodate "above 800 persons without incommoding each other." On the second floor was "a good room with a large chimney," where the justices sat during February term "for the convenience of the fire." Adjoining this was a smaller room, "where the juries are kept to agree on their verdict." A cupola stood atop the edifice, affording "a complete view of the whole town, and the country several miles round, and likewise of part of the Susquehannah River at twelve miles distance."<sup>14</sup>

There had never been unanimity of opinion concerning the placement of this building in the very center of town, and when it was destroyed by fire in 1784 many people expressed their view that its replacement should be located elsewhere. "Pray could it not be contrived to have the new one raised in some other Place and to leave the Square unencumbered with any building in its Center?" asked the town proprietor. "It would certainly conduce to the Beauty of the Town," he added, indicating that he would willingly give any of his lots for the purpose. Tradition prevailed, however, and the new courthouse was erected where the old one had stood. It was a "noble" building, two stories high and sixty feet square, constructed of brick raised upon a foundation of hewn stone. Each facade of this neo-classical structure was identical, with corner quoins of stone; and atop it was a cupola containing a chiming clock with four faces.<sup>15</sup>



Trinity Lutheran Church, considered by some modern-day observers to be the finest example of eighteenth-century architecture in Lancaster, received deserved admiration from inhabitants and visitors alike. Completed in 1766, it was a rectangular building of brick construction and Georgian styling, most beautiful, perhaps, in its chaste simplicity. As impressive on the interior, it contained large galleries on three sides, with a spacious organ loft supported by Corinthian pillars; columns in the Ionic mode rose from the galleries to the ceiling. The whole of the interior, including the organ, was originally painted white with gilt embellishments.<sup>16</sup>

- II -

The quality of Lancaster's appearance, and the safety and health of its residents, depended on more than its plan, its setting, or its architecture; it depended, too, on the interest taken by members of the community in the "well ordering" of their environment. The rapid growth of this closely built settlement engendered a variety of physiognomic and sanitary problems which were truly urban in nature. The magistrates and the town meeting sought to provide for the orderly governance of the town. But although they were generally successful in their efforts, some of the problems recurred, and increased urban development brought with it new difficulties requiring new solutions. A resurgence of civic energy appeared in the 1770's; legislation which had been enacted by the corporation in previous years but which had gone unheeded by some inhabitants after a while was re-enacted. Renewed concern for the appearance of the town became apparent; new agencies of local government were created to handle special aspects of the administration of the town; and—as previously indicated—the corporation received additional authority to deal with its problems.

Maintaining the "regularity" and the good appearance of Lancaster required that the town deal with such matters as the placement of private fences and party walls, the laying of building foundations, and the keeping open of the passageways of the town. Three regulators of the streets and alleys of the borough were appointed in 1744, being authorized "to open such alleys as are closed up contrary to the plan of the town and to widen others which they find too narrow." That the regulators did not meet with complete success in this regard, however, is suggested by a town ordinance of 1761 requiring the town clerk to order "all those Persons by whome the Alleys which are open in the Plan are Stop'd or fenced in" to open them within one month. In 1761, the corporation paid for the building of a bridge across a run at the intersection of Orange and Water streets. Later ordinances directed that grates be placed at the several openings left "in the arches lately built in King's Street to receive the water from the Gutters

in the said Street." At that time, the town resolved that "battlements" of brick be placed at each end of the arch crossing King and Water streets; similar structures were to be placed at each end "of the Bridge lately erected across Queen Street in Vine Street," and grates were to be placed at the gutter openings in the arch.<sup>17</sup>

Although the borough might contribute on occasion to their upkeep, the care of King and Queen streets was essentially the responsibility of the county, since these streets were part of the "King's Highways" in the county. In 1764, the Court of Quarter Sessions granted the request of residents along Orange Street, described as being "almost impassable for carriages," that it be enlarged into a public highway to connect with King Street at its eastern and western extremities; after that, Orange Street, too, became a county charge. In 1768, however, the corporation contributed a £12 "Gift towards building of the arched bridge in Queen Street."<sup>18</sup> By the early 1770's, numerous complaints concerning the Provincial roads in the borough caused the county and the Assembly to act. In 1771, the County Commissioners, with the approval of the Court of Quarter Sessions, authorized the construction of "a bridge or bridges . . . over the rivulets . . . on the Provincial Road to Susquehannah [King's Street]."<sup>19</sup> Because Lancaster was "a principal Place of commerce in this province," county and Provincial officials were especially concerned that the streets be in such good repair as to contribute as well to "the benefit of its inhabitants" as to "the advantage of all who trade and resort there." Consequently, in 1774, the Assembly passed "An Act for regulating the buildings, keeping in repair the streets, lanes, alleys, and highways in the borough of Lancaster, and for other purposes therein mentioned." This was an important piece of legislation, not only because it significantly modified the administrative structure of the borough, as we have seen, but also on account of its intended purpose. "Surveyors or Regulators of the Streets" were thenceforth to be appointed annually by the elected magistrates and were given autonomous power "to direct the regulation of the streets, lanes and alleys, and of the footways at the sides of the streets and fronting the houses and lots in the . . . borough." In discharging their responsibilities, these men acted as an inchoate department of city engineering. The Provincial legislature also empowered the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town who were qualified to elect burgesses and assistants to choose yearly "three discrete and reputable freeholders of the town to be Supervisors of the Highways and two to be Assessors." These two latter officials were responsible for the maintenance of those sections of the Provincial roads running through Lancaster, and were permitted to collect annual rates "not exceeding one shilling in the pound on the clear yearly value of

the real and personal estates of all and every the freeholders and inhabitants" of Lancaster, the funds to be used for the upkeep of the town's streets, lanes, alleys, and highways.<sup>20</sup>

Emulating the urban improvements to be found in Philadelphia and in the larger cities of England, the town made an early effort to facilitate the paving of sidewalks and streets. Although the paving of sidewalks appears to have been a private matter at first, the corporation brought it within its purview. In November, 1765, the minutes of the town meeting indicated that Hans Ferree, who had previously been ordered to remove certain nuisances from in front of his door, complied with the mandate "by cutting off his Poarch posts and further promised to lower his Pavement three Inches" as soon as he could get workmen to do it. At the same meeting, directions went out to John Ashbridge, shopkeeper, and Michael Fordinee, to lower and raise their pavements, respectively.<sup>21</sup> The town organized a lottery in 1766 to build a bridge over Conestoga Creek and "to pave the Streets called *King* and *Queen* Streets, from the Court-house, the Distance of the First Four Squares," but it was never drawn, and a second one was disallowed by Provincial authorities.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, none of the town's streets was ever paved in this period. Where county buildings in the borough were concerned, the paving of sidewalks was the responsibility of the county commissioners. In 1754, they agreed "to Wall and Pave the side of the Street Before the Prison Door" and to provide and install locust posts "and Sett the Same up as is Customary in Streets before Houses."<sup>23</sup>

Enforcement of the town's building code occasioned regulatory ordinances. The regulators of the streets and alleys were also responsible for viewing and directing the placement of all house foundations as well as party walls and fences. Residents who did not submit to inspection before laying their foundations were fined £4 if their houses projected into any street or alley; disputes arising in this connection were settled by the burgesses. Barriers enclosing improved lots were to be made "in the usual manner" and were to be kept in repair at the equal costs of the owners of adjoining properities; if one neighbor refused to accept his responsibility, he could be sued by the other.<sup>24</sup> As late as 1771, however, there were still complaints that "the owners of the lands within the limits of the town have laid out many streets, lanes, and alleys for the accommodation of the inhabitants, but some persons have encroached upon them and created nuisances . . . ." There were at that time, moreover, frequent quarrels about the placement of house foundations and party walls, not to mention other "nuisances." The Assembly's legislation of 1774 providing for the maintenance of the town's passageways also contained stipulations concerning the building code; structures which already encroached on the streets as laid out in the town plan would not thenceforth be considered

nuisances, but when such edifices decayed or required reconstruction the owners were not “to rebuild on the street, lane, or alley so encroached upon.” Should the owners fail to comply with these directions, their buildings were to be considered public nuisances “abatable and punishable as such” and the offender could be fined £20 on conviction by the Court of Quarter Sessions.<sup>25</sup> With regard to the matter of party walls, the new legislation enjoined anyone henceforth from laying the foundations of any such wall or the front of any building facing the streets of the town “until they have applied to the Surveyors or Regulators” who could “enter upon the lands of any person or persons, in order to set out the foundations, and to regulate the walls to be built between party and party, as to the thickness thereof.” Such foundations were to be laid “equally . . . upon the lands of the persons between whom such party wall is to be made.” Residents wishing to erect partition fences could proceed only under the surveyors or regulators, “and when the adjoining parties do enclose or improve their lots,” such fences must be made in the usual manner and kept in repair at the equal costs of neighbors. Any violators of these stipulations, “as well employers as master builders,” could be fined £5 on conviction by the Court of Quarter Sessions.<sup>26</sup>

Also punishable by fine after 1774 were such offenses as erecting pavements or footways out of line with the specifications of those which were legally authorized, erecting “irregular posts” at the sides of streets, extending a porch or step more than four feet, three inches into a fifty-foot-wide street “or proportionally in a narrower one,” obstructing passage through the streets “by any bulk, jut-window or other encumbrance, or placing a spout or gutter so as to obstruct passage,” placing a spout or gutter in such a location that the water discharged “may incommode persons passing in the streets,” obstructing the town’s sewers, and willfully or maliciously “breaking, throwing down, or extinguishing any street lamp that is or shall be set up to light the town’s streets or willfully damaging the post, iron, or other part of a street lamp.”<sup>27</sup>

According to a visitor to Lancaster in 1744—one who had no time for back-country people—the spirit of cleanliness had “not as yet in the least troubled the major part of the inhabitants, for in general they are very great sluts and slovens. When they clean their houses, which by the bye is very seldom, they are unwilling to remove the filth far from themselves, for they place it so close to their doors, which, in the summer time, breeds an innumerable quantity of bugs, fleas, and vermin.”<sup>28</sup> This picture is more than likely overdrawn, though apparently not lacking in truth altogether. The omnibus streets legislation of 1774 noted as punishable offences the throwing of dirt or clay into the streets from cellars or houses under construction and leaving it there after “sufficient warning,” throwing rubbish



into the streets from carts and wagons, and pouring "any foul or nauseous liquor" into the streets from distilleries or the shops of soapboilers and tallow chandlers. These latter artisans could be fined 30s. for keeping, collecting, or using within any of the inhabited parts of the town "any stale, putrid, or stinking fat, grease or other matter." Butchers were subject to similar correction if they kept in or near their slaughter houses "any garbage or filth whatsoever, so as to annoy any neighbor, or any other person whatsoever." Anyone leaving "dead carcasses, excrement, or filth from necessary houses" buried at insufficient depth within the inhabited parts of the borough also risked a 30s. fine and payment of the cost of removing the nuisance upon his conviction. A heavier penalty awaited the person who should willfully obstruct the sewers laid in King, Queen, and Water streets around 1774.<sup>29</sup>

Dust appears to have been an irritation to the inhabitants in warm weather. "There are hills which environ Lancaster," noted one commentator, "as likewise some thick woods which in the summer render it very hot, especially in the afternoon. The soil is then dry and very sandy, which, when fresh wind blows, almost chokes the inhabitants." All in all, Lancaster appears to have been an unusually healthy urban center; the residents boasted abroad of their "pure air" and "a remarkably healthy situation." Epidemic disease appears to have been virtually non-existent, although a minor outbreak of smallpox did occur in 1766.<sup>30</sup>

The regulation of other aspects of personal conduct—insofar as they impinged upon public safety and the orderliness of the community—also came within the purview of town authorities. Speeders, both sober and inebriated, were the targets of an ordinance which prohibited the racing and galloping of horses through the streets, a measure which applied to drivers of wagons and carts as well. Anyone who rode a horse on pavements enclosed by rail or posts could be fined. To minimize noise, undue excitement, and the danger of accidental deaths by shooting was the aim of a stricture against the firing of guns, pistols, or other firearms in the settled parts of the borough; indeed, weapons loaded with bullets or shot could not be legally fired within one-half mile of the courthouse, unless permission for doing such was granted by the burgesses, who could allow such explosions if there was "a reasonable excuse." A cease-and-desist order directed to persons who assembled to play ball at the courthouse curbed, it may be, a group of sportmen who allegedly had "promoted several breeches of the peace, . . . stopped and endangered travellers on horseback," and who were "likely to cause various other evils" if they were allowed to continue. To protect the gardens and other property belonging to residents, an ordinance stipulated that no one "shall allow any swine, hogs, shoats, or pigs belonging to them to run at large within the limits of the borough, whether they be yoked or ringed, or otherwise." In the interest of



maintaining clean and minimally odiferous air, the blacksmiths who burned charcoal on the “skirts” of the town were required in 1743 to carry on such activity at least one-half mile outside of town, or face a fine of 30s. for each offense.<sup>31</sup>

Disorderliness encouraged by the easy availability and excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages posed problems of another sort. These were especially heightened during “publick Times,” as noted in an ordinance of 1751 condemning the “evil Consequences which have arisen from persons selling Cyder and Spiritous Liquors in the streets at public times and from disorderly persons getting drunk”; henceforth, such potations were not to be sold in the street “at any public Time.”<sup>32</sup>

The ever-present and greatly dreaded danger of fire encouraged the close surveillance of potential hazards. Aimed at lessening the dangers of chimneys catching fire, the deeds to all town lots stipulated that the chimneys of all houses erected in the community be built of brick or stone “to be laid in or built with Lime and Sand.” A fine was meted out to any person allowing his chimney to catch fire “so as to blaze out at the top.” All blacksmith shops under construction or raised after 1746—if they were erected next to an existing structure or a lot containing a house or stable—had to be built of stone or brick on the side or end which adjoined another building; if the blacksmith’s shop were of wooden construction it had to be “calked and plastered Sufficiently.” The chimneys of the structures in which such artisans labored had to be constructed of brick or stone, carried at least four feet above the highest part of the roof, and “arched over” at the top “to damp the force of the Sparks generally flying out.” Malt kilns were subject to similar regulations, and the fine for disobedience was 20s. for the first offense and double that sum in the instance of a second conviction. In 1784, after a major conflagration, the magistrates ordered the Town Clerk to draw up an ordinance concerning the proper care of chimneys and to have it “Cry’d through the Streets for the better Order and Safety of the Town.” The absence of local “sweeps” in the earliest years made observance of the chimney regulations difficult. In 1757 the town had to secure such cleaners from Philadelphia, but after that there always seems to have been one or two on hand in the borough. To prevent another major type of fire hazard, the Assembly passed legislation in 1774 stating that no person in the borough should keep in any house, shop, cellar, store, or other place in town “more than 251 lbs. weight of gunpowder, to be kept in the highest story of the house, at any one time” unless the explosive was stored at least fifty yards from any dwelling. A £10 fine could be levied upon any violator of this statute.<sup>33</sup> To extinguish fires, which always loomed as potential catastrophes in closely built towns like Lancaster, the authorities of the town sought to provide the borough with adequate fire-

fighting equipment. The community's first fire engine was purchased in 1751 with funds raised in a lottery held for the purpose. William Henry, the borough's ingenious gunsmith, was commissioned to build a second engine thirteen years later, but the magistrates decided instead to use the money collected for that project to import a machine from abroad. By 1766, the town possessed two fire engines, and a year later a house "fit to contain three fire engines at least" was built on the northwest corner of the market square. A third engine may have been acquired shortly after the great courthouse fire of 1784.<sup>34</sup>

That the town should have been so well provided with fire-fighting facilities was due in part to the concern and rivalry of three fire companies organized in the town. The Union Fire Company was in existence in August, 1760, and may well have been formed earlier. At the end of 1763, two new groups, the Friendship and Sun companies, were established. The general rules governing these organizations were similar. Each member of the company was expected to provide himself with at least one leather bucket, a linen bag — perhaps with "a running string at the mouth" — and a basket. Distinctive emblems on the baskets identified the various companies; the Friendship Company chose "grasped hands" as its symbol and selected brown as its color; the word "Sun" designated the baskets used by that group. Regular attendance at monthly meetings called "to examine into the state of the houses and to devise methods for the more effectual prevention of fires," was expected of every member, who could be fined for an unauthorized absence.

The companies clearly defined their fire-fighting procedures. In 1764, for example, the members of the "Sun" company resolved that "upon every accident of fire happening within the borough, every member of the company shall fix a lighted candle in a front window or over the front door of his house for the convenience of the people going to and from the fire." Once at the scene of the blaze, the fighters scurried to their assigned stations and tasks, "the principal Inhabitants" within the companies exercising their accustomed leadership. According to a plan set forth by the Union Company in 1766, Edward Shippen, Dr. Adam Kuhn, Col. James Burd, and the attorney William Atlee were to "direct and form lines, etc." The shopkeepers John Hopson, Joseph Simon, and George Groff, as well as Ludwig Stone, innkeeper, were to act as doormen. "To play the pipes" — that is, to direct the flow of water — was the job of the gunsmith William Henry and the innkeeper Matthias Slough, while the other members of the body carried out such duties as salvaging goods, working the engines, and transporting ladders, hooks, and forks. Organization by companies, and the rivalries engendered thereby, did not obscure the need for co-operation between groups. A general committee, composed of repre-

sentatives from each company, suggested measures which would be of benefit to all three; these recommendations were, in turn, ratified by each association. At a meeting in January, 1764, for example, the Sun company agreed that two ladders, to be "locked to the hooks of the Court House," be provided at the expense of the three units.<sup>35</sup>

The lack of sufficient water, especially acute in "the thick inhabited parts of the town," worried some residents and hampered the efficiency of fire-fighting procedures. The Chief Burgess wrote to a friend in 1766 that there was not enough water in some places "to supply our two fire engines for half an hour." To solve this problem, many inhabitants petitioned the Assembly to empower the corporation to levy a tax for the construction of a water supply system, but a bill passed by the legislature for this purpose was repealed before it went into effect (see page 66). About the same time, the fire companies sought jointly to attack the water shortage problem with resolutions that "a Reservoir be made on the run in Queen Street," but in this worthy project they were seventy years too early; nothing came of their resolution.<sup>36</sup> In 1772, the corporation ordered a well dug near the barracks constructed in the town during the French and Indian War to aid fighting any conflagration that might erupt in that part of the borough.<sup>37</sup> The entire community benefited from an experimental water conduit planned by the tanner Caspar Singer. In return for receiving permission from the corporation to run the conduit from a spring, then along Water Street, and into his tanyard, Singer promised to have "a Stock or Jet d'eau fixed in such Pipe or Conduit at such places as the Burgesses and Assistants . . . shall direct in King's Street . . . where such Pipe or Conduit shall cross the . . . Street, so that the Publick (in cases of Fire and at such other times as it shall not be injurious to . . . Singer to be deprived of the Water) may be supplied from the same." The corporation agreed to the proposal, adding a proviso that Singer and his heirs take care of the system.<sup>38</sup> In 1774, the magistrates announced plans "to sink and fix Cisterns" in King Street and elsewhere in Lancaster "for the reception and collection of water in large quantities for immediate use in cases of fire, and to attempt the introduction of waters of other adjacent springs into the more central parts of the town." To safeguard the new water supply system, the corporation secured from the Assembly an act providing financial penalties for anyone willfully or maliciously injuring "water pipes or trunks already laid (or removing or displacing them) or to be laid later, or who [should] obstruct the passage of water through these lines."<sup>39</sup>

No matter how careful individuals and the magistrates might be in trying to prevent the outbreak of fire, blazes occurred. As early as 1740, the house of David Jones "took fire . . . and was consumed to Ashes with the greatest Part of his Goods and Provisions." A blaze at Jacob Cryder's in

King Street in December, 1779, consumed the hay in a stable as well as a tailor's workshop. Five years later, the courthouse was destroyed in a holocaust which might easily have burned down a major part of the town; a strong southeast wind was blowing at the time, "and carried the fire in great quantities" over a large part of the northeast section of the community. Although the Reformed Church, which stood several squares from the courthouse, and several other buildings took fire, the blaze was "happily extinguished without much damage." It was in response to "the frequent Fires that have happened to the Public buildings in this Town," that the Union Fire Company asked the County Commissioners to secure a third engine and a responsible number of buckets at the expense of the county.<sup>40</sup>

Water for household and other purposes could readily be secured from several springs or drawn by pumps from several wells located in the town. An interesting provision in articles of agreement made between Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn and Michael Gardner, reveals one means of determining the use of water. A well beneath the house sold by Kuhn to Gardner was to be forever "for the Benefit of Themselves their Heirs and Assigns" and "the water thereof shall be at the Expence of the said Parties . . . conveyed by Pipes in the most convenient Manner Under Ground" to Kuhn's lot, where it could be brought up by a pump maintained by both parties and their heirs. Although in large supply, the drinking water obtained within the town possessed a high lime content which frequently had an adverse effect on people who were unaccustomed to drinking it.<sup>41</sup>

Nearby farmers supplied the town with wood for cooking, heating, and building. As neighboring woodlands were diminished, however, the price and difficulty of securing timber became a matter of public concern. In 1763, "a majority of the freeholders of the borough of Lancaster" and others petitioned the Assembly to authorize the removal of three mill dams along the Conestoga Creek so that it might be made navigable "for flats and other small craft" bringing wood to the town from afar. At that time, the cost of haulage raised the price of cordwood to 10s. per cord for oak and 15s. for a similar amount of hickory. If the creek could be made navigable, proprietors of timberlands up to fifteen miles from the town could afford to deliver wood at a landing not more than one mile from the center of the borough at half the current price. In a counter petition, the owners of the mill dams and others contended that natural obstructions made the creek impassable for any craft, and a committee appointed by the Assembly sustained their view.<sup>42</sup> The dear price of wood added greatly to the public ire when measures sold in town were found to be fraudulent. Hence, a corporation ordinance of 1786 provided that the clerk of the market should thenceforth be aided by three assistants who would inspect all wood



vended in the town and who "for every Cord shall be entitled to Six Pence, paid by the Farmer if the Wood be deficient, if a Good Cord by the Purchaser."<sup>43</sup>

### - III -

A well-ordered community required not only regulations designed to maintain public safety, and the health of the denizens, it necessitated as well rules designed to maintain "the King's Peace" and to protect the inhabitants in their persons and property. In this regard, the town did not have to act solely upon its own initiative, for Provincial law set forth the general standards of moral, Christian behavior and the punishments to be meted out to malefactors. Though it was never as great a problem as in the larger urban centers, criminal behavior in the borough did keep the burgesses busy in their capacities as "Conservators of the Peace" and occasioned the referral of numerous cases to the county courts of common pleas and quarter sessions.

By far the most common offense against peace and good order in Lancaster was assault. In the eighteenth century, men's tempers were remarkably short; violence lay just beneath the surface of apparent calm, and it took very little to produce fisticuffs and bloodied heads. In Lancaster, ethnic animosity appears to have occasioned many attacks. Appearing "Beat and Battered," Martin Meyer complained to the court in January, 1770, that the sheriff, James Webb, Jr., while speaking with Meyer at the house of Adam Reigart, "went out of the Room and Strip'd and returned Strip'd . . . and Assaulted, Beat, and Battered him to the great Effusion of his Blood." Webb was indicted. Men and women sometimes fought each other; a surprising number of cases were similar to the one in which Stophel Reigart, baker, was fined for assault and battery upon Elizabeth Rice. In 1750, Anne Jacobs, wife of the tavernkeeper Jacob Jacobs, was convicted of an assault upon Henry Zenck in which she did "beat Wound and Evilly treat" the tanner so that "of his Life it was greatly despaired." Thirteen years later, Susannah Docterman, Rosannah Ealor, and Anna Maria Stocksleple incurred a fine of sixpence each for causing a riot in which they "with Force and Arms &c riotously, routously, and unlawfully to disturb the peace of our . . . Lord the King did assemble and meet together, And so being Assembled and met together . . . in and upon" the tavernkeeper Henry Helm "an Assault did make." Occasionally, husbands and wives, extending their marital vows of fidelity to cover cases of insult and injury, followed the example of Francis and Catherine Rinehard, convicted of assaulting Christopher and Margaret Franciscus. Nor were the most genteel residents of the borough innocent of such splenetic outbursts.

The attorney George Ross incurred a one-shilling fine in 1763 for beating the butcher Michael Fortinee, a distinct reversal of fate for Ross who four years earlier had collected damages from the advocate David Henderson in another fray. Sometimes, disputes arising out of religious animosities led the aggrieved party to retaliate in unusual ways, as did Ludwig Stone, a tallow chandler who had been a burgess, 1750-52, convicted in 1754 for "breaking down the door of the Lutheran church, the property of Michael Byerly and George Groff," and in doing other wrongs to these same two men.<sup>44</sup>

Less numerous than the convictions for assault were those for theft. Henry Beckdorff, a common laborer, may well have planned an extensive trip in the winter of 1760 when he stole one gray horse, one saddle, a leather bridle, a greatcoat, a leather pocketbook, £3 in bills of credit, and four Spanish silver dollars worth 7s.6d. from Frederick Romick, for which he received twenty-one lashes on his bare back, paid a fine equal to the value of the stolen items, made restitution of the goods, gave security for himself and his bondsmen, and paid the costs of his prosecution. Colman Cryner, shoemaker, would have dined well, indeed, had he gotten away with his haul – 132 pounds of dried beef and 200 pounds of bacon – stolen from the tavernkeeper Henry Helm in 1757. Perhaps Francis Ryne intended to set himself up further westward as a pious carpenter when he took from William Mitchell a hat, a pair of shoes, one razor, two center bits, one brace bit, a small hammer, two smoothing planes, two pairs of compasses, "one plain iron" – and a Bible! He had also stolen two shirts, a pair of stockings, a pair of leather breeches, and a wallet from someone else. For these two offenses, he was to receive thirty lashes, pay £2.1.0. in fines, make restitution of the goods, and pay the costs of his prosecution. Strangers passing through the borough had good reason to keep an eye on their property. In June, 1772, William Bell, a North Carolina fur trader, reported to the Court of Quarter Sessions that he deposited for safekeeping with John Davison of the town 216 red fox skins, 21 otter skins, "and other Furr or Peltry Carolina Produce." Subsequently, however, ninety-five of the fox skins and an otter skin were stolen; before Bell was aware of the theft, he found one Frederick Hambright, an employee of Davison's, "in the Publick Fair in the Boro . . . with an Otter skin and a Red Fox skin and a Bag." When Bell failed to appear to prosecute the defendant, however, Hambright and other persons implicated in the robbery were released.

A most spectacular case of assault and theft was reported by Anne Jacobs in 1754. Mistress Jacobs complained that one evening "she was gone to her rest, her doors fast and her House in Quiet when a Certain Thomas Boyd of this Borrough Came between the Hours of Eleven and twelve at

Night,' knocked on the Door, but it being so late an Hour I Denied him Admittance, Upon which he broke my Window and forced himself into my House, took a Horse whip and Broke it upon me by beating me in the most inhuman Manner, Robbed my House by taking Sundry things away, *Viz.* two silk Handkerchiefs, three Yards of Callicoe . . . a pair of silver Buttons, an Eighteen penny Bill, a five Shilling Bill which he offered to return me Upon Condition I would give him a Dram." On a previous occasion, she added, this man had "abused me by taking my rings off my fingers and taking my Key from my Door by which I was Obligated to enter in and out at my Window. There was Witness present when he returned me the Key. My Husband and I can be Qualyfied that he offered him his Note for forty Shillings to make up the Affair." Mistress Jacobs, a notorious bawd, had appeared in the same session of court in another unseemly affair, so that the grand jury ignored her complaint.<sup>46</sup>

A general scarcity of cash and particular embarrassments of pocket encouraged counterfeiting and forgery. In May, 1755, Valentine Stoplebine, "a person of evil fame and wicked mind," was convicted of the latter offense, the charge stating that "from his Wicked Heart and Imagination" he composed a fraudulent bill of credit. An hour's stand in the pillory, a fine, and thirty lashes laid on in two installments a week apart at the public whipping post was his reward. A much harsher penalty was inflicted upon Ann Tew, convicted in 1766 of altering a one-shilling note to read "ten" and passing it off to Wendel Gilbert. In additon to an hour's appearance in the pillory, thirty-one lashes, and a fine of £100 plus court costs, she had both of her ears cut off and nailed to the pillory. Eighteenth-century justice could be brutal.<sup>47</sup>

Few offenses of a sexual nature appear in the court records. Rape, fornication, and bastardy do not seem to have been common in Lancaster, although in 1754 it was charged against poor Mistress Jacobs that she did "keep and maintain . . . a common house of bawdry, and in the same house many idle and ill-disposed persons and whores . . . to Commit whoring and fornication . . . to the great disquiet and disturbance of all the liege subjects of our . . . Lord the King, and against the peace of our said Sovereign Lord the King his Crown and Dignity &c." The grand jury returned a true bill, but whether conviction followed is not stated in the records. Convictions for adultery and fornication were returned from time to time.<sup>48</sup>

The peace of Lancastrians was occasionally disrupted by "unruly disobedient servants" as well as "idle and strolling Vagabonds from divers parts, who take shelter in the . . . County and Borough whereby drunkenness and profane swearing, breach of the Sabbath, tumults, and many Vices do much prevail, that it is scarcely in the power of the Magistrates to

suppress them, and preserve peace or good order." Periods of war, the town's situation on a main traveled road between east and west, and its importance as a stage stop doubtless brought to it drifters and other persons of no account. To punish their and other persons' misdeeds, a majority of the residents of the borough petitioned the Assembly in 1763 requesting the erection of a workhouse in the town; and the legislature authorized the construction of such a detention center, "with convenient yards thereto adjoining, for the correcting and keeping at hard labor all rogues, vagabonds, sturdy beggars and idle and dissolute persons" meriting such punishment.<sup>49</sup>

By the 1760's, Lancaster had become such a large and bustling settlement that some residents desired greater security for their community and protection from personal injury. Early in 1765, the Burgesses, Assistants, and a large number of the townsmen asked the Assembly to allow the corporation to tax the inhabitants for the establishment of a night watch, to install street lamps, and for other civic purposes. The borough had become very populous, the petitioners noted, "and of Consequence many idle and disorderly Persons daily resort to it, whence Outrages and Disorders happen in the Nighttime which the Magistrates have not an Opportunity of suppressing; and the Injuries arising from Fire cannot be speedily prevented, as the Inhabitants have no Method of being alarmed in time; which Injuries and Inconveniences would be greatly remedied by having a nightly Watch, and Persons enabled by Law to raise Money on the Inhabitants, for supporting the same, and for such other Uses as might be advantageous to the . . . Borough."<sup>50</sup>

Although the Provincial legislature passed the requested enabling legislation, class conflict within the community and factional jealousies of a political nature brought about the repeal of the measure. Soon after the Governor approved the bill, "a great Number of the poor Inhabitants" of the town asked the Assembly to repeal it. Some persons "near the center" of the town, the petitioners remonstrated, sent in the original request and received permission from the Assembly to draft a bill. The bellman then called a general meeting of the townsmen at the courthouse, where the proposed legislation was read and generally agreed to. But not all of the residents were consulted. "As the Bellman cries only in the principal Streets, such of them as live in the remote Parts of the . . . Borough were deprived of the Knowledge" of the meeting "and many of them are not sufficiently acquainted with the English language to understand always what is cried." Faced with these disadvantages, "and being obliged many of them, to work in the Country for the support of their Families, it is almost impossible for much the greatest Part of the Inhabitants of the . . . Borough to know what is done by a few at the Center thereof. . . ." For



these reasons, the petitioners continued, many Lancastrians were unaware of the proposed legislation. Already burdensome taxes, plus the fact that a night watch and street lamps in the center of town would be of no benefit to them, were also put forward by the opponents of the measure. Members of the Assembly, they shrewdly chided, “are not unacquainted with the Nature and Use of Public Taxes, which ought to be levied for general Service, and not to accommodate a few, as in the present Case, at the Expence of the many.” Those urging the repeal of the bill could conceive of “no greater Inequality (or Injustice if they may be allowed the Expression) . . . than for upwards of Three Hundred of them, the poorest and most remote Inhabitants” of the community “to be compelled by Law to support a Watch and Lamps for the Benefit and Safety of about an Hundred and Sixty of their Neighbors.”<sup>51</sup>

Supporters of the enacted legislation entered a counterclaim. Soon after the Assembly ordered the bill repealed, eighty-five townsmen, including members of the three fire companies, complained to the Governor that “a Number of People, chiefly inhabiting the Outskirts of the . . . Borough, most of whom are possessed of but little Property, and therefore liable to bear a very inconsiderable Share of the Tax,” had acted without “the Knowledge and Consent of those who are to bear the Burthen of the Tax” in urging repeal of the law. Tactfully omitting the matter of a watch and lamps, the anti-repeal faction argued that without the legislation—which included provisions for better preventing the hazards of fire—the town “will be exposed to the greatest Dangers by reason of the near Situation of the Houses therein to each other.” Specifically, this section of the bill had provided for the creation of cisterns or reservoirs for the storage of water in the public parts of the town, and without such water “the useful design of the town’s several Fire Companies in purchasing Fire-Engines, Buckets, &c. at a great [expense], must of Necessity be frustrated . . . when the Misfortunes of the Public may demand the Use of them.” Despite this presentation of the situation, the Governor signed the repeal, much to the chagrin of “the principal Inhabitants” who were reportedly “vastly uneasy that they had not a hearing before the Act should be repealed.”<sup>52</sup>

This episode appears to have produced a bitter cleavage within the community. Many of the town’s bigwigs suspected, indeed, that politics had been involved in the actions of the Assembly and the Governor, that county Representative James Webb “and his Associates has Carried this Affair through in a private Manner without one single Person here of Consequence having the least Knowledge of it, well knowing that otherwise he would [have] met with such opposition as would have made him ashamed (if that’s possible).” Webb, a Quaker and a member of the Proprietary faction in the Assembly, had been sparring recently with some of his political

adversaries in the borough; and although he had been victorious in this instance, the defeated townsmen predicted that "at a future day he may find the smart of it."<sup>53</sup> The corporation did receive a power of taxation about a decade later—this to be used for the upkeep of the streets of the town—but a night watch was never established in this period and the erection of cisterns for the reception of water was achieved through other means.

#### - IV -

Another function of community government—the care of the destitute—was discharged with more success. For the poor people living in the borough, relief was available through two public sources. The goods and money distressed from violators of the town's ordinances were regularly distributed among the needy under the supervision of the overseers of the poor, who collected an annual poor rate and who were in charge of homeless children within the community as well. A touching case in regard to their latter function came to light in 1755 when the overseers reported to the Court of Quarter Sessions that "having at present under our care James Kuly, and he is now at weakly Charges, we have Tak'd him to his Mother and she has refused to Keep him." The magistrates ordered the child delivered to his parents, but they again turned him "out of their Doors." As a result, the overseers were instructed to keep the child—he may have been defective—a little longer until some resolution of the situation could be arrived at.<sup>54</sup>

As in eighteenth-century England, the laws governing poor relief in Lancaster were based on the old Elizabethan statutes, which required birth or a certain period of residency in a given community before a needy person could be placed on the public dole. Thus, in 1764, George Chilot, "having lately come to settle in Lancaster boro, but not having gained a Legall Settlement there according to the Laws . . . nor produced a Certificate to the Overseers of the Poor . . . owning him to be settled elsewhere," did not qualify for relief from the community. And since the authorities feared, moreover, that he was "likely to become chargeable to the . . . Borough," he was conveyed by the Overseers to Hempfield Township, "his last place of legal settlement." Almost as old as the poor laws themselves were the jurisdictional disputes which inevitably emerged in the course of their administration. Such a hassle erupted in 1765 between the Overseers of the Poor for the borough and those for Lancaster Township. According to the latter, the borough had arrogated to itself the right to appoint its own overseers, and these men, the township overseers claimed, had taxed the inhabitants of the township for the relief of the poor of the

borough without anyone's consent, an action deemed to be "illegal and Unprecedented." Taking the case before the Court of Quarter Sessions, the township asked that unless the borough officials could demonstrate that they were overburdened with needy persons, and that they could lawfully tax the township, the court enjoin them from continuing their actions. The judges dismissed the petition, however, and the overseers for the borough presumably continued to tax the township for the relief of the poor. Such a worthy charity as welfare for the destitute did not depend merely upon the actions of the corporation. The various religious congregations sustained their own poor through alms, bequests, and other gifts made for the benefit of the unfortunate.<sup>55</sup>

- V -

Rapid and sustained growth, first through immigration and then through generation, gained for Lancaster its distinction as the largest inland settlement in British North America, and the third largest town in the Province of Pennsylvania. Though not nearly as large as such urban centers as Philadelphia, Boston, or New York, Lancaster was somewhat like them in nature, a microcosmic version of these great centers of population. To some observers, indeed, the borough was "Philadelphia in Miniature."<sup>56</sup> That it was essentially urban in nature, is demonstrated by its size, the compactness of settlement, and the numerous restrictions enacted through local and other authority to prescribe a desired pattern of personal and group conduct. Like the cities which greatly overshadowed it in size, Lancaster faced, and for the most part successfully coped with, the problems peculiar to an urban community. As a populous center—with a myriad of traders and craftsmen and abundant farmland around it—the borough possessed resources which Provincial authorities could tap for special purposes, including times of crisis.





## CHAPTER THREE

# *Making Peace and War*

AS THE largest urban settlement in Pennsylvania west of Philadelphia, and the most important one in the back country, Lancaster enjoyed a significance which went beyond merely local considerations: the town played a wider role. The treaty making which was so essential a process in the maintenance of friendly relations between white men and red brought emissaries of peace from "King George's people" and the Indians to the borough on several occasions. More importantly and directly, the town served during two wars—the French and Indian conflict and the War of the American Revolution—as an important center in the defense of the western regions. The officers and citizens of this community found themselves and their town drawn increasingly into a larger stream of history. Time, the accident of geography, and the ravages of war introduced them to new experiences and forced them to face problems which none of them could have envisioned. Various scenes of fateful drama unfolded before their eyes; they were absorbed by that drama, and stood onlookers to, and participants in, acts whose meaning would transcend their own lives to become important chapters in the tale of American and international history.

### — II —

In gaining and securing their footholds in North America, the colonizing nations of Europe had to confront the aboriginal inhabitants. For the English nation, the evolution and character of Indian policy depended, at first, upon the actions of individual colonies. In Pennsylvania, William Penn inaugurated a humane approach, based upon a code of equity. And the continuance of this policy by the heirs to the Penn proprietorship brought unusual harmony between the colonists and the Indians in that Province, though elsewhere the story was a less happy one. In the growing intensification of Anglo-French rivalry during the 1750's, relations with the red natives ceased to be a merely Provincial concern and became a matter for imperial direction. Important aspects of this development were observed at first hand by the inhabitants of Lancaster.

Very early in its existence, the town figured in the process of peacemak-

ing. In August, 1742, a party of Shawnees arrived in the borough with a message to be forwarded to Governor Thomas at Philadelphia; and on more than one occasion thereafter the strange sound of the red man's "Yo Hah" signalled for townsmen and others the successful completion of a Lancaster treaty. The first of these concordats bearing the name of the town was concluded in June, 1744. Deputies from the Six Nations and commissioners from the colonies of Maryland and Virginia – taking advantage of the neutrality and hospitality extended by the Province of Pennsylvania – met in the borough to settle their differences. With the Indians complaining of the "many Inconveniences" they had suffered since the English came among them, inconveniences resulting particularly from "Pen and Ink Work," the meeting was designed to shore up relations between the tribes and the two southern colonies. Another site for the conference had been chosen at first, but the desire of all parties to gather at some central location, and at a place where provisions and accommodations might easily be acquired, led to the choice of Lancaster. The change was not unappreciated by the Indians, who later reported that they had found "plenty of everything" there.<sup>1</sup>

For the townsmen, it was spectacle of a rare sort as more than 250 sachems and warriors, led by Canasetego, the Delaware chief, arrived at the courthouse. They brought with them several squaws, including the celebrated Madame Montour, a French-Canadian woman who after fifty years of living with the red men had become "almost an Indian" herself. A "great Concourse of People" followed these alien Americans dressed in old and ragged matchcoats "with few or no shirts" and the ones they had "extremely dirty." After a short speech in the Indian language by Canasetego, the Indians were conducted to some vacant lots "in the back part of the town," where they constructed wigwams from the boards, poles, and tree boughs provided for them. That the Indians would not "on any occasion whatsoever, dwell, or even stay, in houses built by white people" was information which Lancastrians doubtless received with little regret. After each round of daily powwows and exchanging of presents, held in the courthouse where the sachems sat on the stairs beneath the judges' bench, there was the customary pipe-smoking and punch-drinking. Later in the evenings during the conference, the Indians donned their face paints and provided the numerous inquisitive spectators drawn to their camp with various entertainment, including "one of their lighter war dances." A dinner held at the courthouse for the twenty-four chiefs of the Six Nations, the colonial commissioners, and other gentlemen drew a host of townspeople curious "to see the Indians dine." The successful conclusion of the treaty gratified everyone, except the tanner John Musser who complained to the Governor that in building their wigwams the Indians "barked" his walnut trees.<sup>2</sup>

Not for another twelve years would such a large gathering of peacemakers converge on Lancaster, but in the interim there were other treaties made there. At a five-day meeting in 1748, held in the borough because the Indians feared a reported "sickness" in Philadelphia, fifty-five representatives of the Six Nations, the Shawnees, and other tribes concluded a pact by which the Twightwees gave up their allegiance to the French and entered the English-Indian alliance. This was an agreement of more than military significance, for the provisions of this treaty admitted English fur traders into the coveted Twightwee hunting area along the Ohio River.<sup>3</sup>

The eight-year conflict between the English and their French and Indian adversaries brought treaty makers again to the borough. In the winter following Braddock's defeat, the Governor and other Provincial officials met there with the Conestoga Indians to ratify and renew the existing treaties between them and "William Penn's people." At the outbreak of hostilities, the Pennsylvania government had provided public support for this tribe, reduced by now to near extinction, and Provincial officials wished to give them "Assurance of a future Support and a small Present as a Testament of the Regard of the Government for them." A similar treaty in February, 1760, reaffirmed the bonds of friendship and continued Provincial guarantees of protection for this little tribe. The desire for peace with the Delawares led English officials to convene a conference with that tribe at Lancaster in 1757. An air of tension pervaded this meeting, for more than one hundred members of the Society of Friends were in attendance, and despite previous warnings from the Governor concerning their private dealings with the Indians, they insisted on making their own gifts to the red men. During the conference, moreover, frontier settlers brought the bodies of three men and a woman who had been scalped and killed by the Indians at Swatara, less than thirty miles from the borough. The corpses were deposited in front of the courthouse, and only the presence of Royal American guards prevented the outraged friends and relatives of the victims from carrying out their threat to kill the Governor. At any rate, the Provincial executive was forced to leave his lodgings and to view the hideous spectacle, described by one witness as "moving . . . to the Gentlemen Quakers, as they must be conscientiously Sensible, that they are the Causers of these Horrid Cruelties, because they will not condescend to the passing a Sufficient Militia Law, whereby the People would be enabled to defend themselves."<sup>4</sup>

The last, largest, and most important of the peace conferences held at Lancaster was that attended by 557 members of the northern and western tribes in August, 1762. "Some Remains of the Small Pox" and the fear that warm weather might heighten the danger of infection, led the Governor to

convene the meeting at the borough rather than in the Provincial capital. With the French threat removed from the Ohio Valley by this time, many English military commanders and colonial officials had promised the Indians that white men would withdraw from the lands west of the Alleghenies. The meeting was intended, in part, to ratify that promise, in return for which the Indians were to hand over all white prisoners taken during the fighting. Curiosity about the Indians on the part of the townsmen was undiminished. And the feeling was mutual. On one occasion during the conference, a group of red men (some with "large knives in their hands") startled members of the Moravian congregation by surrounding the outside of the church during an evening service—the Moravians had been active evangelists to the Indians—and filling all the windows with their tawny faces. In addition to the "Public Conferences," there were several special meetings for which leading men of the town made their homes available (apparently some of the Indians, at least, had relinquished their scruples about entering the habitations of white people). After more than two weeks of parleys, the Indians and Provincial leaders left the borough, the former with a promise that the Wyoming Valley of central Pennsylvania would be regarded in the future as a Shawnee area, the latter with an assurance that the Indians withdrew all claims to land along the Delaware River.<sup>5</sup>

### — III —

The French and Indian War thrust the town and its people into the maelstrom of imperial rivalries. Conveniently located for communication with the east, and a gateway as well to the west, Lancaster was strategically important to the defense of the back country. As the hostilities progressed, the town became a western military center; an army base was established there, two expeditions were dispatched from the town to the west, residents were asked to house an ever-growing number of British regulars and Provincial militiamen in their homes, and the borough became in other respects an important seat of military administration. Suitably equipped in many ways to respond adequately to the demands placed upon them, the residents of the town and its officers experienced, nonetheless, the confusion, tensions, and inconveniences which are the inevitable consequences of wartime exigencies.

By the autumn of 1755, the entire Pennsylvania frontier was in "great Horror and Confusion." With reports of Indian raids less than thirty miles from the borough, and a rumored boast by the Delawares that they intended to make their winter quarters in Lancaster, the defense of the town became a major concern of its inhabitants. "We keep a watch here every



night of 60 men," an important leader in the borough informed his brother in November, 1755, but "our Numbers are quite discouraging; and if the women who were in the greatest consternation should prevail upon their husbands to carry them away (and where can they go to?) we shall Still be worse off." Ammunition and arms were scarce; many people with small arms reportedly ran from shop to shop in search of powder and shot; others scoured the vicinity for guns. Although they were ill-prepared for the emergency, residents were able to make up at least a company of one hundred armed men, though some of the town's leaders wished to have at hand four times that number. Several "false alarms" pointed up the frightful inadequacies of the town's defenses. On one such occasion, a servant of the hatter Thomas Doyle "made a false alarm by firing off his pistle at the edge of the woods which raised the whole Town who met at the Court House; but in a few minutes afterwards, the thing was discovered."<sup>6</sup>

Taking stock of their own situation, as well as the danger that their weakness posed for the easterly settlements, Lancastrians looked toward the Provincial government for greater assistance. "The Assembly ought in my opinion," asserted one Lancastrian, "to raise £60,000 whether the Governor has power to tax the Proprietary family or not, and a sufficient quantity of men Shou'd be Sent immediately to guard the Frontiers and at least 100 to this Burrough, for whenever we are attackt I doubt not but the Number of Men will be much greater than we can possibly make up for our defence, and if the enemy Shou'd take possession of this town and destroy the People, who can dare to Stay on their Plantations betwixt here and Philadelphia." Early in the war, indeed, settlers in the unprotected "back parts" began to flee their farms and to seek refuge in Lancaster and other towns in the east.<sup>7</sup> Informed that the inhabitants of Lancaster were "very uneasy from an apprehension of being attacked," the town's proprietor wrote from the safety of his estate at Bush Hill near Philadelphia a letter expressing his great surprise "that so large a Town situated in the very center of so populous a Country should suffer themselves to be so terribly alarmed by a handfull of Indians on the Frontier." Familiar neither with the brutalities of frontier warfare nor with the shaky defenses of the back country, Hamilton gratuitously suggested that communities to the west of Lancaster would easily defeat the Indians "ere they reach that place"! The people of the borough were not wont to rely on that assurance, however. To provide themselves with the necessary defenses, especially for the safety of the women and children, they proposed building a stockade of split logs, "with a wide ditch around it and a small drawbridge," at the north end of Queen Street. Some people thought that a second one, at the west end of King Street, should also be constructed, but this was apparently never con-

sidered seriously by the town's magistrates. Requests went out to nearby farmers to supply wood for the project, and it was hoped, too, that the town proprietor would allow wood to be cut from his lands in the vicinity—a scheme for which he expressed no enthusiasm. Although specifications for the proposed fortification were agreed upon by the summer of 1756, the structure was apparently never erected. As the possibility of an attack on the town seemed less and less likely, relative calm returned; at least one resident boasted in 1761 that “we are at present as Safe from any danger from the Savages as if we were in the middle of the City of Philadelphia.” To others, however, such surety and the reported laxity which accompanied it, seemed unwise.<sup>8</sup>

The exasperation of the back-country people, provoked by the failure of the Quaker-dominated Provincial legislature to vote adequate defense measures, as well as the frontier settlers' apparent inability to distinguish between belligerent and friendly Indians, taxed the ability of the magistrates to maintain peace in the town. In the spring of 1756, “a great Body of the Inhabitants of the Back Counties” assembled in the borough and threatened to march on Philadelphia, “with design to force the Governor and Assembly to pass some Laws, that they have prepared” regarding the defense of the frontier. In an attempt to persuade the marchers to desist, the Governor sent a special deputation to Lancaster, along with officers instructed to “keep the peace.” The Justices of the Peace in Chester and Lancaster counties were reminded, moreover, to “be careful” that the King's peace not be disturbed by “so uncommon a Meeting.” The threatened march was halted. On a December afternoon seven years later, however, a more serious outburst occurred when a group of nearly one hundred frontier settlers, known in history as “The Paxton Boys,” “rode very fast into Town, turned their Horses into Mr. Slough's . . . Yard, and proceeded with the greatest Precipitation to the Work House, stove open the door” and killed fourteen friendly Conestoga Indians—men, women, and children—who had been placed there for safekeeping after a previous massacre at their town a few miles from Lancaster. In subsequent investigations, local magistrates, and the officers of a Highland Regiment stationed in the borough at that time, were criticized for the laxity of their care for the Indians. But, as a responsible official in the town noted in a letter to the Governor, all of the business of the Paxton Boys “was done, and they were returning to their horses, before I could get halfway down to the Workhouse,” And despite the pleas of the Sheriff, Coroner, and other officers who were on the scene, the rioters could not be prevailed upon to “stop their Hands.” Shortly after this “Paxton Massacre,” with public unrest in the back country still great, Governor Penn ordered royal troops stationed at Carlisle to proceed immediately to

Lancaster and to await further orders, "holding yourself always in readiness to march from thence to such places and on such Services as the preservation of the Publick Peace may make it necessary for me to require of you."<sup>9</sup>

Early in the war, Lancaster became a military station. Its location made the town a safe and convenient place for the storage and distribution of war matériel, and provided an opportunity, moreover, for its residents to make contributions of a responsible nature to the war effort. Throughout the conflict, powder, shot, lead, and flints sent by wagon from Philadelphia, were stored in the courthouse, which served as a "King's Store." Here were also kept the muskets, bayonets, and "Cartouch Boxes" (cartridge cases) made by local artisans or sent up from the capital from time to time, as well as "spelts" or wheat. In April, 1758, Sir John St. Clair suggested to Governor Denny that Lancaster be among those stations where "two good Horses" would be maintained as a part of a communications network for conveying intelligence pertinent to the conduct of military operations in the back country.<sup>10</sup> The mobilization and outfitting of troops was a facet of the military activity carried out in the borough. The town served as a recruiting and training center for new levies, including an exclusively German company assembled in 1758 under the captaincy of Ludwig Stone (Stein), shopkeeper. Wagons, troops, and supplies were assembled in the town for the Braddock and Forbes expeditions; and a constant train of provisions and storage wagons, as well as droves of "Beeves," passed through the borough en route to the west and added to the bustle. Soldiers returning from frontier campaigns were mustered out of service and paid at Lancaster by commissioners stationed there for the purpose. In the spring of 1757, two war parties of Indians in the English alliance set off from the borough for Forts Cumberland and Augusta.<sup>11</sup> From time to time, the residents could catch glimpses of important Provincial and military officials called to the town on business connected with the war. On several occasions, the Provincial Governor, called to the west to boost the morale of frontier residents, stopped in the town. At other times, Colonels John Stanwix and Henry Bouquet, as well as the dying General John Forbes, lodged in Lancaster hostleries.<sup>12</sup>

Cold weather, with the attendant cessation of hostilities, brought to the borough an influx of troops assigned there to winter quarters. Early in the war, the Commander-in-Chief of British forces fighting in America decided that soldiers should be quartered at Lancaster, Reading, and York to "cover them from any inroads of Enemy and Indians." During the winter of 1757-1758, townsmen could discuss the military situation with soldiers of the first and second battalions of Royal Americans, and each

succeeding year brought five hundred and more of His Majesty's troops to the borough for billeting. Because theirs was the largest settlement in the west, Lancastrians were asked to house the greatest number of soldiers.<sup>13</sup>

If the presence of so many troops provided additional security for the community, it led to growing tensions between the residents and magistrates of the town and military authorities. During the winter of 1757, a house belonging to the shopkeeper and former burgess Sebastian Groff was seized by Royal Americans and used as a guardhouse, for which the owner presented a complaint to the Governor along with a bill for the repair of damages. It was expected that troops stationed in the borough, either for winter quarters or for short terms at other times of the year, could be lodged adequately in the "publick Houses." But from the first, the great number of soldiers assigned to the town severely taxed the available accommodations. While officers chafed on account of "the growing trouble of Billets in this town," residents complained that they were being forced to lodge troops in their homes. In response to an inquiry into the matter by the Governor, General Jeffery Amherst, commander-in-chief of British forces in America, replied that the quartering of soldiers in private houses could not be avoided "where there are not Publick Ones Sufficient for the Reception and proper Accomodation of the Troops . . . ." If the magistrates of the town refused to supply such private billets, he continued, the military could not act otherwise than it had, "which is an old Practice wherever the Seat of War lies." Yet, Amherst did not wish to condone injustice or inequality, and if these were shown to exist, he would do all in his power to correct the situation.<sup>14</sup>

Apparently it did exist. A committee of the Pennsylvania Assembly, appointed to look into the situation, reported that "the Oppression is of so extraordinary a Nature that it calls for immediate Redress." On the basis of this report, the legislature informed the Governor that contrary to Provincial laws "the military-Officers have, by force, quartered a large Number of Soldiers on the private Houses of [Lancaster], committing great outrages upon the People, by Seizing and depriving of their Possessions and Property, assaulting their Persons (Magistrates not excepted) in a violent Manner, and by obliging them to pay sums of Money for [the exemption of] their Quarters, or to receive the Troops into their Private Families, notwithstanding the Magistrates offered to provide them convenient Houses for the Accommodation of the rest of the Troops billeted on the Publick Houses." Such treatment, which was reportedly meted out with partiality, seemed especially onerous to Lancastrians in view of their contributions to the Forbes expedition; some residents feared, indeed, that "the oppression and Severe Treatment of that Borough will greatly discourage them, if not render them incapable of doing the same Service for His Majesty in the future."<sup>15</sup> In an attempt to ease the burden on the



town's housekeepers, the corporation petitioned the Assembly to appropriate funds for the erection of a barracks in the town. The legislature approved the construction of a building large enough to hold five hundred men, and by 1760 the edifice stood on the west side of Queen Street at the northern edge of the borough; the Province hired vacant houses to serve as a hospital and guardhouse for troops stationed in Lancaster.<sup>16</sup>

Following the cessation of hostilities, the borough continued its role as a western military depot, particularly as a winter quarters for troops assigned to defend the frontier. In the summer of 1765, for example, the Governor requested the magistrates "to make Suitable Provisions for the Troops from the Westward." And despite the availability of barracks for housing "the common Soldiers," public housekeepers complained in 1766 that they were "much agrieved, being obliged by Billets from the Magistrates, to quarter the Officers of all such Regiments as may be stationed in the . . . Borough . . . in their own Houses, without any Allowance or Reward for the same . . . ." When Forts Presque Isle, LeBoeuf, and Venango fell during the Pontiac uprisings of 1763, western settlers again retreated to the borough. One witness reported in July, 1763, that "nothing could exceed the terror which prevails from house to house, from town to town [on the frontier]. The road was near covered with women and children flying to Lancaster and Philadelphia."<sup>17</sup>

#### — IV —

In little more than a decade, war came again to America and to the borough. This was a conflict very different in nature from the previous one. The French and Indian War had been the result of imperial rivalries between two great European powers. The War of the American Revolution, on the other hand, was at once the rebellion of a continent of subjects against King George III of England, a civil war between American revolutionaries and their Loyalist opposition, and—ultimately—an international struggle of world-wide scope.

Lancaster served again as an important western military center. Its situation (far enough inland to frustrate easy access by the enemy from the coast), the fact that it was the crossroads for several important arteries, and the material resources which the town and the surrounding countryside afforded made the borough a strategic military point. In his "Plan of an Army and Thoughts on the Mode of conducting operations for the Campaign—1778," General Charles Lee suggested to the Secretary of the Continental Congress that if the British should decide "to make themselves Masters of certain Districts or Posts, which will give them a greater Extent of Country," it was most probable that General Lord Howe would attempt

“to make himself master of Lancaster, and give himself possession of that Rich Country.”<sup>18</sup> Materials for the waging of war were stored in the town; magazines there held the gunpowder which filled Continental and Pennsylvania muskets and cannon; stables for the care of the mounts belonging to Continental military officers were erected; and at two places in town, near the barracks and at the southeast corner of Chestnut and Prince streets, Continental storehouses received rifles, muskets, and other “war-like Stores,” including the flour brought in from time to time by nearby farmers. During the course of the fighting, a military hospital was set up in the borough. In the old barracks, British and Hessian prisoners of war were confined in large numbers. Lancaster was more than an important military post. While Lord Howe was in command of Philadelphia, during the winter and spring of 1777-1778, the borough served as the nation’s capital for a single day and as the seat of government for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for ten months. These developments taxed the resources of the town to the limit and added immensely to the difficulties of keeping good order. Indeed, local magistrates found it necessary to rely sometimes on Provincial authorities to assist in the governance of the community.

Lancaster was quickly designated as one location where war matériel should be stockpiled. Soon after the fateful events at Lexington and Concord, the Commissioners of the county established a magazine in the borough, and stocked it with powder, lead, and other war matériel bought from the shopkeepers of the town. The Commonwealth, too, began to store munitions in Lancaster; in August, 1776, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety resolved that “60 Stand of Arms” be sent there as soon as possible. Four months later, the Council directed that “the public Stores be removed from Norristown and French Creek to Lancaster, the powder to be laid in different Places of Security in the Town and County adjacent.” At the same time, the leaders of the Continental Army moved to deposit supplies in the borough; General Washington designated Lancaster to receive two months worth of troop provisions. Besides the placement of provisions at Lancaster, the Commander in Chief ordered that some be “deposited on the Roads leading from Lancaster to Winchester in Virginia . . . for the accommodation of the Troops in their march from the Southern Colonies.” Both the State and the national governments established storehouses in the town. In the summer of 1777, construction began on a building to house the supplies of the former, “a powder magazine of the dimensions of 24 ft. by 36”; and the State built other storehouses. In December, 1777, Colonel William Will was appointed the Continental Storekeeper in the borough, with orders “to take care of all provisions stored at Lancaster by order of Congress, and to issue them on order of the Board of War.”

During Howe's invasion of Pennsylvania, most of the State's military supplies were sent to the borough. As the war progressed, a second Continental powder magazine and additional storehouses were erected. Throughout the war Lancaster received supplies for the defense of the back country.<sup>19</sup>

Other military installations were established in the town. In view of the borough's widespread reputation for the manufacture of fine cloth, it is not surprising that General Washington recommended to the Clothier General of the Continental Army that he locate his "principal Store" (that is, warehouse) in the borough, since it would be "the most likely place to get Cloathing made up." In December, 1777, while the Continental forces were suffering at Valley Forge, a resident in Lancaster noted that there had recently been shipped from the town "for the use of our Army, 1900 Pair of men's Shoes, 150 dozen pairs of Stockens, and 1500 pairs of Leather breeches; and . . . a large number of Coats and Jackets with Shirts are getting forward so as to be down by New Year's day at headquarters." Wounded troops were cared for in the borough at a military hospital which was in existence there by October, 1777, and which was reported in the following month to contain five hundred patients. Soldiers were also sent to this hospital from time to time to receive inoculations for smallpox. Officials discussed the establishment of a second hospital in the borough in August, 1781, but there is no evidence that it was actually established.<sup>20</sup>

From the commencement of hostilities until the conclusion of peace, Lancaster was a detention center for British, Canadian, and Hessian prisoners of war, who numbered as many as fourteen hundred at one time and who included royal forces captured in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, as well as the "Convention Troops" taken during the Battle of Saratoga. Popular sentiment in the town was always against the imprisonment of the King's soldiers there; in the spring of 1776, public opinion against them reached a crescendo, augmented by meetings held at the courthouse and inspired by some of the local leaders. It was virtually impossible for town and other magistrates to prevent not only popular indignation but also the violence inflicted upon the British officers when they walked through the streets. The Hessian prisoners were always of particular interest to the townsmen and dwellers in the countryside. One corporal reported that when he and his unit were brought to Lancaster for confinement in 1777, "big and little, old and young, looked at us sharply. The old women cried out that we should be hanged for coming to America." Some of the other German inhabitants, however, were more friendly to the Hessians, bringing them bread and wine on occasion. In 1781, when a group of German prisoners was brought to the town, "the German settlers showed them much kindness, and German speech and

friendly hospitality gave [the troops] great comfort." Lancastrians seemed to prefer the Hessian prisoners of war to the British troops kept in their midst.<sup>21</sup>

The imprisoned enlisted men and non-commissioned officers were lodged in the barracks, which were enlarged and surrounded with a stockade of pickets. This place was a great attraction for the boys of the community, whose lusty yells were heard every day at sunset as they played "Rebels and Tories." And although these frays have not become as famous as the daily peacetime tiffs between the south- and north-end boys of Boston, the fight was equally as hearty. So hearty, in fact, that a rope was eventually tied across the street in front of the barracks so that "Rebels" and "Tories" could merely rage at each other from either side of the barrier. This rhetorical warfare was much too tame for boys, however; one day, young Robert Fulton, a native Lancastrian who liked to make sketches of these great scenes, drew a caricature showing the "Rebels" jumping across the rope and thrashing the "Tories"! The cue having been given, the combatants decided to translate the scene from the single plane of the sketchpad into the realm of three-dimensional reality. Town authorities soon put an end to the business.<sup>22</sup>

The care of the imprisoned enlisted men was initially vested in a committee of local men, but this arrangement was soon found to be "liable to many Exceptions," and eventually a Commissary of Prisoners was designated. Although they were confined to the barracks and to the stockade surrounding it, enlisted men were supplied with soap, tobacco, wood, straw, and salt, and were—like their officers—allowed to write letters to their families and friends in England, subject to their inspection by local officials who read the mail to be sure that it contained no "Animadversions or Strictures on the present State of Public Affairs, of any kind soever." William Atlee, Lancaster's chief burgess from 1770 to 1774 (who for his shortness of stature and in his capacity as Commissary of Prisoners was referred to by them as "his diminutive Majesty") was amused by one missive from an officer to his girl: "I' faith the fellow says so much of her pretty sweet Hare and Eyes that I am almost angry at the commanding officer at Wilmington for not sending her up, that we might have but a peep at so loving and charming a Creature." Through an arrangement with the American Congress, the British were also allowed to supply their captured troops; they established a commissary in the borough by January, 1778. Two years later, a resident reported that ten wagons and three British officers "came as commissaries" with clothing for the prisoners. In 1782, the British were permitted to establish a warehouse in the town for the purpose of supplying the prisoners with articles, manufactured in England, that were not readily available. Artisans among the enlisted men confined at



Lancaster were employed in the manufacture of war matériel for the State of Pennsylvania; and to relieve the frequently overcrowded barracks, some of the prisoners who preferred "to work for small wages among the residents rather than be kept confined in the barracks" toiled for townspeople and nearby farmers as servants; anyone allowing such a prisoner to escape, however, was held responsible and had to pay a heavy fine.<sup>23</sup>

Officers of the prisoners of war were allowed to find their own lodgings in the town. But this was accomplished only with difficulty for, as Major Thomas Hughes found in 1779, many of the residents were afraid to board and house British officers "as they shall be accounted Tories. A blessed state of liberty," he added in disgust, "where people cannot do what they please with their own homes." One famous officer, Major John André, found a residence in the home of Caleb Cope, a Quaker plasterer who was, indeed, suspected of Tory leanings; and despite the handsome Major's "bland manners" he became closely attached to the Cope family, instructing young John Cope in the art of painting and "sporting" with the children as "one of us." Some of the officers, perhaps most of them, found their confinement at Lancaster boring. "Of all the situations of life," Major Hughes lamented, "that of having no pursuit is the worst. The mind, having nothing to occupy its attention, falls into a lethargy which makes it grow tired and displeased with everything about it. This is my case; my mind hangs heavy, and I scarcely know how to spin out the day." Usually, Hughes slept until 10 A.M., ate breakfast at his lodgings, then went into the center of town "for billiards and news," not to mention listening to complaints from some of his fellow officers about the miseries of being confined to "such a vile hole as Lancaster." There was inevitably friction between some of the officers and residents of the town. Major Hughes noted in his diary for February, 1780, that some of his peers "being a little merry last night, sang God save the King, for which they were threatened to be put into prison." But "the great ones"—the town magistrates, that is—"thought better of it, and we were ordered never to be guilty of the like again for fear of consequences. But we are determined to sing it whenever we choose, in defiance of all the gaols and rebels in America." On another occasion, a British lieutenant was "beat publicly" by the adjutant of the local militia "for using freedom with that gentleman's wife."<sup>24</sup> When peace was concluded in 1783, all of the prisoners in Lancaster were released, but some of them, including many of the Hessian troops, settled in the borough and other nearby communities rather than return to their homelands.

In the midst of war, the population of the borough burgeoned with the addition of a thousand and more prisoners of war, with soldiers reporting there for orders or taking up winter quarters, and with refugees fleeing the

degradations of the enemy. Soon after the outbreak of hostilities, some Philadelphians and other residents of the eastern counties began making plans to settle temporarily in the large inland town. When Lord Howe captured the State capital in the winter of 1777, hundreds of refugees thronged into the borough, bringing with them as much of their personal belongings as they could pile into wagons. Some of these newcomers—the wealthier ones from Philadelphia—brought with them, in addition to their slaves and property, a sniffishness expressive of the contempt they felt for what they considered to be the ill-bred commonalty of a country town. Such airs caused friction not only between the snobbish strangers and the townspeople, but also between the former and the nearby farmers who were so angered by the supercilious behavior of the outsiders that they refused for a while to bring in any food to the Lancaster market! Fortunately, some of the newcomers moved elsewhere, displeased with the accommodations that Lancaster had to offer, and those who remained behaved themselves better.<sup>25</sup> Among the temporary residents were the celebrated mathematician-scientist David Rittenhouse, who was treasurer of the State, and Thomas Paine, whose facile pen had convinced Americans of the *Common Sense* of independence and republicanism and who wrote some of the essays in *The American Crisis* from his new location. One of the first refugees to come to the town from Philadelphia was Christopher Marshall, apothecary, whose lively diary provides a wonderful chronicle of events in Lancaster during the war years.

Also among the newcomers brought to the town by the crisis were political leaders of the new nation and of the State of Pennsylvania. The Continental Congress itself met at Lancaster on September 28, 1777, but finding the town “too crowded and in other respects exceptionable” it moved further westward to York, Pennsylvania, where the broad Susquehanna provided an additional margin of safety from the forces of Lord Howe. They left behind them in Lancaster President Thomas Wharton and the government of Pennsylvania, which operated from the borough until June, 1778. In addition to all of these new residents, the town had somehow to absorb “People from the back woods” who, it was reported in July, 1778, “come down and [are] coming in great Numbers . . .,” fleeing “the English and Savage Barbarians.” These refugees from the west were lodged in taverns and in private homes, and were given food through the charity of local inhabitants. The arrival of the western people in large numbers was offset somewhat, however, by the withdrawal of the Philadelphians, who began returning to their homes in July, 1778.<sup>26</sup>

Besides those people whom the war brought as temporary sojourners, there was a constant stream of humanity passing through the town every day, or staying only for brief periods. The townspeople had ample oppor-

tunity to see and talk to patriot troops passing through or stopping overnight: in the spring of 1778, a battalion of Virginians on the way to General Washington's camp—colors flying, drums beating, fifes piping; at another time, seven hundred more men from the Old Dominion on the way home, their enlistments having expired; thousands of troops marching southward when the main theatre of war shifted there in early 1780. From time to time, Scottish, English, and Hessian soldiers taken prisoner by Americans came through en route to places where they would be exchanged for patriot fighters taken captive. Drove of beef on the hoof, part of the supplies destined for the revolutionary forces, constituted another element of the passing panorama in wartime Lancaster. There were visitors whose brief appearance in the town linked it somewhat with the major events of the momentous struggle: General LaFayette, in the borough on several occasions while going back and forth to Congress at York; Simon Dean, brother of the American Commissioner to France Silas Dean, in Lancaster in the spring of 1778 while en route to Congress with papers from the court of Louis XVI declaring and recognizing the independence of the American states and ratifying a treaty of alliance and friendship with the revolutionaries.<sup>27</sup> What remarkable times!

Given the presence of so many people in Lancaster, and considering especially the presence of the State government and the prisoners of war, the magistrates faced above all the problem of security for the community. At various times during the war, but especially during the early years when the British were in or near Philadelphia, the residents and refugees feared an attack. "We are all in confusion here," wrote one inhabitant in September, 1777, "reports every Moment in Town that the Enemy are advancing toward this place . . . . Our Town is much alarmed, and a Talk of Sendg. off what few Prisoners are here of the Hessians and British . . . . Many of the Inhabitants have packt up their Effects and some sent off." Indeed, in this particular alarm, the King's forces were reported to be within twenty miles of the town, and more than fifty wagons were sent into the borough to assist in its evacuation; calmer residents, at their own expense, sent out express riders, who checked, and disproved the reports.

On at least three other occasions during the war, similar rumours caused panic to sweep the town. Not only did the inhabitants fear a "Visit" from the British forces, but there was perennial anxiety concerning sniper activities by British sympathizers within the vicinity, by spies, or by the prisoners of war. At the beginning of June, 1777, the Town Major informed the Supreme Executive Council that the British prisoners had threatened to destroy Lancaster, which greatly alarmed the residents. Not long before that, "great Excitement" spread through the town when prisoners in the barracks, celebrating the King's birthday "with great excesses," seized the

guard of militiamen, took away their firearms, knocked them down with clubs, and tried to escape; they were subdued only when fired upon. In the wake of this uprising, a magistrate of the borough informed State authorities that the townspeople were "uneasy at the Number of British troops placed there," and that they wanted them moved elsewhere. The real troublemakers were thought to be the British troops, he noted, "and as we cannot avoid placing them in the Barracks among the Hessians, are apprehensive they will debauch those people, who have hitherto behaved pretty well."<sup>28</sup>

Soon after the attempted escape of the prisoners of war, one Daniel Shelby was seized "and carried to Carlisle Gaol by some People from Juniata; the Charge against him was an Intention to burn Lancaster and York. . . . He was a great Tory," commented one person in recounting the incident, "and was I believe very impudent in his Confidence and Expressions, but I can hardly believe he would be guilty of so villainous a Design." In the latter part of September, 1777, local officials uncovered "a Plot or Combination of several People to destroy the publick Magazines at Lan[caster], York, and Carlisle." During the course of the investigations which followed, the Rev. Thomas Barton, rector of the Anglican congregation in the borough, was implicated as being "at least privy to that conspiracy," and was accused, moreover, of carrying on correspondence "with the Enemies of this State, and of the United States of America." As late as July, 1782, word circulated of "an infamous plot of the British prisoners . . . to burn Yorktown and Lancaster in one night."<sup>29</sup>

These ominous developments were compounded and made all the more believable by the false reports which alarmed the town from time to time. If there was much in the way of accurate news to be gained at the taverns and shops, and from the people passing through the borough, there was a good deal more of misinformation peddled as well. In the absence of adequate information, rumours were almost as plentiful as mouths to spread them, and became so prevalent at times that "The Lye of the Day" became as much a topic for conversation as "The News of the Day." "There appears to be no kind of news to be depended upon," Christopher Marshall wrote in his diary in exasperation, "but as for Lyes this place is really pregnant and brings forth abundance daily, I might safely say hourly." One member of a group of Hessian prisoners passing through the borough in October, 1778, noted that he and his fellows met with a curious reception, owing to the fact that "the story had spread that the King of England had given Lancaster to General von Reidesel as a reward for his services" and that he had come to take possession of it. "The people were greatly excited, and it took some time to convince them of the truth."<sup>30</sup>

Potential attack, real plots, rumors, and the strategic importance of



the town quickly produced demands for tighter security. By January, 1776, the Committee of Safety for Lancaster County appointed a sergeant and twelve privates to stand guard at the public magazine every evening and to patrol the streets every two hours at night "to prevent Disorders, and to carry the Committee's Regulations into execution." The militia posted in the borough performed some guard duty, but not enough in the opinion of many people; when these troops were shifted to other areas, new security measures had to be devised. In January, 1777, after ordering militia units at Lancaster to proceed immediately to Philadelphia, the State Council of Safety resolved that the Lancaster Committee of Safety should direct a sufficient number of "aged or infirm Persons who are unfit to bear the fatigues of the Campaign" to serve as guards of the prisoners, ammunition, and military stores in the town. Following the prisoners' riot of June, 1777, the Continental Congress ordered a strengthening of the guard at the barracks.<sup>31</sup> When the State government moved to Lancaster late in 1777, security was further tightened and its maintenance devolved upon the Commonwealth as well as local authority. At that time, "Sundry Delegates and Assemblymen" in the town, "having a Desire that in Conjunction with Executive Council and the Assembly some good regulations ought to be made here in order for our protection and for our comfortable living here," provided for the posting of guards throughout the town who saw to it that no one entered or left the community without a pass. The guard was to take great care "that none of the Inhabitants be insulted." Recalcitrance on the part of the militiamen responsible for guarding the prisoners sometimes frustrated the security system. About forty of 150 new prisoners brought to the borough in January, 1780, escaped, allegedly because the guards were "so averse to marching in this [snow and cold winter] weather" that they refused to take further charge of the newcomers. When the major scene of the fighting shifted to other parts of the country, the guard at Lancaster was relaxed, but the renewed threat of invasion led to its strengthening from time to time.<sup>32</sup>

Despite every precaution, some of the prisoners did escape. With the assistance of disaffected persons in the borough and the county, a good many of them gained their freedom intermittently during 1781. In response to this situation, the Board of War of the Continental Congress sent a body of Continental troops to supercede the militia detachments performing guard duty in the town. General Moses Hazen's regiment, "Congress's Own," came to Lancaster for that purpose. In an effort to frustrate future attempts at escape, the authorities placed an American officer disguised as a captured British soldier among the prisoners to discover their means of escape. His mission proved successful; fifteen of the prisoners were brought to trial, and further escapes were almost totally prevented.<sup>33</sup>

Apart from the difficulties of security, the town's magistrates and the other governmental authorities in Lancaster were called upon to face additional problems growing directly out of the wartime situation. It was not only the British and Hessian prisoners of war who caused disturbances in the community; even the patriot forces occasionally fomented trouble. In June, 1775, five companies of Lancaster borough militiamen rioted over the exemption of conscientious objectors from military duty. The Committee of Safety ordered the distribution of handbills announcing the exemptions, but when the printer called on the committee with the printed sheets he reported that "an officer had threatened to take them out of his house with a body of men by force." "Greatly dissatisfied" with the Committee's procedures, the soldiers stated that they would not muster "if any people whatever were excused." Against the orders of their officers, one of the companies marched with their firelocks in hand to the home of a member of the committee, "grossly insulted him, and demanded that the hand bills should be delivered up to them." Eventually, an officer was permitted to enter the house, was given one of the bills, and then delivered it to his men, "who immediately affixed it to the whipping post, and then several of the soldiers fired guns at and consumed it." By this time, the town was in an uproar, and the commotion was increased by some persons who "either wickedly or ignorantly took pains to mislead the people." Later in the evening, a second but smaller party of militiamen "met before the same house . . . and insulted the owner, and the door of his house was found tarred and feathered next morning." In the aftermath of this affair, the incumbent Committee of Safety was forced to resign and a new one replaced it.<sup>34</sup>

At the annual Independence Day celebration for 1779, a group of militiamen, "being a little elated," attacked a set of the chief people in the town who were diverting themselves at a tavern in celebration of the holiday. The troops felt insulted that the gentlemen should drink by themselves, "they thinking that there ought to be no distinction but all get drunk together." The soldiers smashed a few windows, but when the gentlemen sallied out sword in hand "the mobile" was routed. A few days later, however, "the mob" rose again and threatened to beat "the gentleman party"; one unfortunate soldier fell into the hands of the bigwigs "and they thrashed him very handsomely."

Rivalry between the militia and regular troops provoked another disturbance in the town two years later. A member of the Pennsylvania horse dragoons having been placed in jail for some offense, his comrades marched in rescue to the barracks. One of them cocked and presented his pistol, threatened to disarm the militia sentinel, and was killed; another dragoon had been wounded by a shot from the dead man's weapon. "This

gave alarm to the Town, and the Horse [Dragoon] finding their situation rather precarious made off to their respective quarters." For some time after this incident, the residents of Lancaster were "kept in continual alarm" because of threats and belligerent behavior by the dragoons, who swore vengeance against the militiamen and particularly the sentinel.<sup>35</sup>

With so many people in the borough during the war, sanitation and protection from disease became matters of urgent concern. The health of the entire community was threatened in July, 1781, when "Jail Fever, attended with the most malignant symptoms," broke out "very generally" among the prisoners of war in the barracks. A local physician informed the President of the State that it would be extremely difficult to eradicate the epidemic without acquiring additional quarters to quarantine those already infected. The residents of the town, he added, "especially those in any way concerned in the care of the prisoners, are in the most eminent Danger of contracting the Contagion." In response to this new problem, the corporation petitioned President Reed and the Council of Safety to remove the Convention prisoners of war from the town. But the health situation had apparently not improved much a year later when, in consideration of "the dangerous consequences likely to arise in the Barracks from the many and circulating Disorders now among the Prisoners of War and in this Place," the Burgesses and Assistants agreed unanimously that "the Brick Storehouse on the Commons . . . be immediately converted into Quarters for the Reception of the Sick who are immediately to be removed."<sup>36</sup>

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In the westward expansion of the American frontier, the hardy, pioneering farmer was, to be sure, of great importance. But historians have not fully appreciated the crucial significance of those urban communities which appeared before, or simultaneously with, the husbandmen and which were as vital as the virgin land they broke.<sup>37</sup> Lancaster was one of the earliest examples of such sustaining communities. The town was clearly possessed of many resources which — because of the size of the borough and the variety of functions performed within it — could be drawn upon for peaceful endeavors as well as military operations. These were surely important. Most crucial to Lancaster's importance as a back-country settlement, what enabled it to overcome its lack of natural advantages and to achieve a surprising viability, was its economic role. Its traders, as well as the craftsmen who daily wrought side by side with them, contributed both to the westward march of settlement and to the development of the immediate surrounding region.





PART TWO

A Back-Country Emporium



## CHAPTER FOUR

### *Traders*

**A**PART from its size and rapidity of growth, visitors to Lancaster were most impressed by its thriving appearance. "Lancaster is a growing Town, and making Money," wrote Thomas Pownall, secretary to the Governor of New York and soon to be the chief executive of Massachusetts, when he stopped there in 1754. Ten years later, a newly settled resident saluted his town as "a very respectable and wealthy place." By the 1770's, the borough had become, in the language of the day, "a principal Place of Commerce" in Pennsylvania, and the community enjoyed, moreover, a reputation for liveliness in trading. "You know, sir," lamented the erstwhile assistant to one of the town's storekeepers, "that Lancaster is a very Brisk Place for Business, and the only Reason I have for not going there is that I think I'll have to Confind [*sic*] myself too close to Business there." Trading was, indeed, the lifeblood of the borough.<sup>1</sup>

No factor was more important in the economic development of Lancaster than its location. What residents and visitors alike regarded as its "convenience for an inland Trade" greatly overshadowed any disadvantages associated with its site. Fortunately, Lancaster, at seventy miles distance, was far enough west of Philadelphia to achieve viability as a major trading center. The town was surrounded by prosperous immigrant farmers, mainly "middling" in substance, whose vision of prosperity was buoyed by rich soils and an open, relatively unrestrictive society, which allowed for the maximizing of private goals. The increasing value of land and inventories in the vicinity provided concrete assurance that Pennsylvania was "the Best Poor Man's Country."<sup>2</sup> Within the area immediately surrounding it, the town functioned as a market. Catering not only to the needs of their neighbors in the borough, the traders and artisans of Lancaster enjoyed "the Custom" of surrounding hamlets; the largest storekeepers sold their goods to country shopkeepers on a wholesale basis; and the artificers plied their crafts to meet the needs of country folk producing not merely for subsistence but to serve a market reaching to eastern Pennsylvania and beyond. Very important, too, was Lancaster's relation to "the back Parts," for besides serving its own vicinity, the town was—until the 1780's, at least—an emporium for the wide hinterland embracing western Pennsylvania and Maryland, as well as the upper portion of the Valley of Virginia. Many settlers, moving into the interior on roads that passed

through the borough, found their necessities in food and equipment on the shelves of Lancaster's storekeepers and in the workshops of her craftsmen.

The network of highways which converged at Lancaster made the town an important crossroads and facilitated its trading contacts within the region. By mid-century, thoroughfares opened at the first planting of the town were extended, and new ones laid out. A survey in 1753 depicted passageways extending from the borough to Harris' Ferry (Harrisburg) and Wright's Ferry on the Susquehanna, to York, the Blue Rock, and Charles Town to the southeast. The "Great Philadelphia Waggon Road," a major colonial artery, ran west from the city on the Delaware to Lancaster, thence across the Susquehanna to Carlisle, from there into the Shenandoah Valley over the Great Warrior's Path, into North Carolina along many miles of the Cherokee Trading Path, and finally (after 1760) on through the Catawba Valley to Pine Tree (Camden), South Carolina—a distance of 733 miles. Along this great road passed a varied stream of people, horsemen, travelers afoot, and pioneer families "with horse and wagon and cattle." Coach service between Lancaster and Philadelphia was inaugurated in March, 1760, when John Emig and Adam Miller provided a "stage Wagon to transport passengers, goods, packets, &c." The conveyance left "The Sign of the Lancaster Coffee-House" on Mondays at 6 A.M., arrived in Philadelphia on Tuesday evenings, and began the return trip inland from "The Sign of the King of Prussia," Market Street, on Fridays. A post office opened in the borough by 1752.<sup>3</sup>

Lancaster's location was important. But its success and reputation as a trading center can be attributed as well to the character of its inhabitants. The "Dutch are the most laborious and by much the best Improvers in the Country," remarked James Hamilton, doubtless with Lancaster in mind, "and particularly of Towns, by having so great a Number of Tradesmen among them, who are the only people to draw Wealth to any place."<sup>4</sup> But success in trade is as much a factor of individual enterprise as of group characteristics, so that credit for the town's general reputation as a place of business must be given to individuals who, in enriching themselves, were responsible for the economic growth of the community.

## — II —

Consideration of the economic functions of the town should not, however, blind us to one very fundamental observation. At the heart of economic activity in Lancaster, as in other pre-industrial communities, was the individual household, the family unit. Whether the calling involved was trade or a craft, the home was almost universally the scene of labor. The shopkeeper usually lived either above or behind his store, and



his wife and children assisted him in the conduct of his business. At the craftsman's shop, likewise, there lived not only the master artificer and his family, but also journeymen and apprentices, considered a part of the household, engaged in perfecting or learning the mysteries of which they hoped one day to be masters themselves. Only the wagoners and day laborers—the latter working either in town or on surrounding farms at harvest times—knew any routine disjunction between their places of living and of making a living. Thus, the economy of the borough, apart from the larger context of Provincial and imperial economic development and circumstances at any given time, consisted of nothing more, nothing less, than the results achieved by its families working, day by day and independently, to keep themselves alive and thriving.

Each family's pursuit of economic viability had to be conducted, to a certain extent, within the framework of what was considered to be the best interests of the community as a whole. If the individual household was the essential unit of the economy, the actions of each family could by no means have taken place entirely in isolation. Regulations governing the time and place of labor and of business transactions, the rights of the town's tradesmen, and the affairs of the market, came under scrutiny of the town's magistrates and the town meeting.

For those who would earn a shilling or spend one, there were trading days in plenty, but Sunday was not one of them. In its very first ordinance, the corporation, invoking an old law of the Province calling for "the due Observation of the Lord's Day," enjoined shopkeepers from "selling out their goods to the Country People," tavernkeepers from "entertaining Company," and butchers from "keeping open their Shops and selling their meat during the whole Day" on the Sabbath. No persons could engage in any "worldly Business or Work of their Ordinary Calling" on that day, except those involved in works of necessity or charity. During the summer months, however, butchers were allowed to kill and sell meat on Sundays before 9 A.M. or after 5 P.M. The law required the High Constable to search the town's taverns and other public places on first days, and anyone found "drinking or tipling" must pay a fine which would be used for the poor, while the owners of such establishments were also subject to an amercement. Travelers, inmates, lodgers and others, however, could be supplied with "Victuals and Drink for refreshment only."<sup>5</sup>

The corporation acted to secure to the traders of Lancaster the historic and peculiar rights pertaining to them as businessmen in a chartered town. In the first year or so after incorporation, but "particularly at elections and court Times," traveling chapmen set up stalls in the borough, thus infringing the rights of resident tradesmen in a manner deemed to be "a great Discouragement of trading People settling within" Lancaster. Consequent-

ly, a town ordinance of 1742 forbade anyone save freemen and inhabitants of the community from setting up stalls in the borough or selling goods there except at the annual fairs. Violators of the ordinance faced a £5 fine on conviction. To protect the bakers, the corporation enacted an ordinance in 1787 against "The Evil Tendency of suffering People to hawk and carry about Rolls and Cakes for sale within the borough."<sup>6</sup>

Most numerous of the locally made regulations concerning the conduct of business activity in the town were those which concerned the market. As a borough, Lancaster enjoyed the privilege of holding two weekly markets, one on Wednesday and a second on Saturday. On account of the rich surrounding farm land, Lancaster market was always bountiful. "They have a very good market in this town," noted a visitor in 1744, "well supplied with provisions of all kind and prodigiously cheap." Located conveniently near the center of town, the market place lay just northwest of the courthouse on King Street. At first, there was only an open lot, where butchers and other vendors erected their stalls. A lottery "um ein Marckt-haus in der Stadt Lancaster zu erbauen" was announced in the *Pennsylvanische Berichte* in April, 1748, but it was apparently never held. Not until 1757 could townsmen secure their food in "a very convenient Market house with several convenient Stalls therein," erected "at a great expence." Once the market house was completed, its maintenance—especially the paving of the brick floor and the mending of the roof—was a frequent matter of concern for the corporation. In order "not to defeat the purpose of the market, and to stop country people hawking from house to house," the town meeting in 1743 ordered that all commodities brought into the town for sale on market days be vended only at the market place until 2 P.M. "Huggsters" (country vendors) were required after 1765 to proffer their "truck" only on market days, and in 1768 they were assigned special stands in the market house where they were permitted to sell only "eatables." For these standings, the hucksters paid 10s. annually. To curb those who would profiteer through monopolizing the supply of an item, a law of 1746 stipulated that no merchandise might be purchased in greater quantity than could be used for a single family before 8 A.M. in the spring and summer, and prior to 10 A.M. in the winter. Before those hours, the clerk of the market and the high constable stood by to keep "idle and abusive persons" from disturbing the customers in the market place, and to prevent engrossments of the produce by "forestallers."<sup>7</sup>

By virtue of its status as a borough, Lancaster could hold two fairs annually, one in June and the second in November, which served—especially before the 1770's—as important instruments of retail marketing in the town and its vicinity. Bilingual advertisements placed in the Philadelphia newspapers for May, 1742, announced the initial fair "to

be held the first day of *June* next, and continued that day and the day following." In line with the practice that had recently prevailed in England and Philadelphia, these fairs were not merely occasions for the sale of cattle, but were for the purpose of vending a variety of commodities, under the supervision of the clerk of the market. The announcement for the June fair of 1745 stated explicitly that there would be a sale of "Horses, Black Cattle, &c., and all Sorts of Merchandize." Only on these occasions were non-resident traders and craftsmen allowed to sell their wares in the borough. In some cases they came from as far away as Philadelphia to take advantage of the opportunity, as did a confectioner who, it was reported in the 1760's, "frequents Lancaster Fair." Trinkets of every sort, silks, laces, and calicoes, gingerbread, molasses, and sweetmeats were dispensed from a number of stalls. The June fairs were always most popular and were characterized by a larger number of booths; in June, 1761, at what was probably the largest fair ever held in the borough, 117 stalls were erected. There was a continuing decline in the number of stands after 1764, however, reflecting the decreasing importance of fairs in the distribution of commodities in Lancaster and its vicinity; the shopkeepers in the borough proved themselves sufficiently able to meet the commercial needs of the neighborhood.<sup>8</sup>

### — III —

Certainly there were enough traders in the town. From 1759 to the end of the period, the number of persons engaged in dealing fluctuated between four and eight per cent of the heads of families in Lancaster. Thirty-eight "shopkeepers" were listed on the town's tax list for 1759, along with one "merchant," whose use of the designation would probably have evoked a derisive frown from the owners of the great countinghouses in Philadelphia. By 1770, the number of storekeepers had dropped to twenty-two—all of them by now distinguished with the style of "merchant"—and in 1789 the number of traders had further declined to twenty-one. That fewer shopkeepers were present in the town at the end of the period than in the earlier days was due mainly, it would seem, to the increasingly extensive operations of a handful of large wholesalers and retailers who were able to engross the bulk of the trade of town and country.<sup>9</sup>

Representatives of every ethnic group in the community and almost every religious denomination were to be found among the storekeepers. A few Jewish traders were in the town from its earliest days and played a conspicuously large role in its trading activities, often in association with relatives and others of their faith in Philadelphia and elsewhere. In December, 1746, Daniel Mendez de Castro, "merchant in Lancaster," who was probably of Sephardic background, announced his intention to depart for

Curacao and called upon his customers to pay the sums they owed him. If he was not already there at this time, Joseph Simon, who was also Jewish and without a doubt the most enterprising businessman in Lancaster, was settled in the borough by 1747. In partnership with his sons-in-law, Levy Andrew Levy and Levy Phillips, who lived there too, he carried on a diversity of business activities from his shops and warehouses on and near Penn Square.<sup>10</sup>

In almost all cases, the Lancaster shopkeepers handled a general assortment of merchandise, rather than specializing in a particular line. Cloth goods constituted a great part of the traders' stock. The inventory of estate of one such businessman, Christian Linsdorff, provides some indication of the variety of linen items sold in the town: diaper linen, coarse linen, white silk, "striped Calimance," blue calico, muslin, chintz, crepe, "kersey," and "shalloon." Other shopkeepers proffered damask, flannel, "cotton and silk laces," Holland, Dorset, "Mecklenburg gauze," and Russian sheeting. Household items, including cutlery, looking glasses, cooking utensils, nails, and clocks were next in abundance. Such personal items as combs, snuff boxes, spectacles, buckles, stockings, buttons, and saddlebags were regularly stocked, as were sugar, coffee, salt and pepper and spices. Almost every shopkeeper kept writing paper, sealing wax, and glue on his shelves, and some of them sold Bibles, hymnals, psalters, primers, catechisms, and other books. And at all of the shops there were candles.<sup>11</sup>

Although the majority of Lancaster's traders handled a varied inventory of dry goods, some instances of specialization had developed by the middle of the century. William McCord seems to have emphasized cloth goods within the variety of his commodities. The partners Joseph Simon and William Henry (the famous gunsmith) specialized in items of hardware, as did Paul Zantzinger, who sold bar iron, blacksmiths' anvils and vises, as well as English, German, and "blistered" steel. In the early 1760's, Colonel James Burd, a Scot who started his life in America as a merchant after his arrival in Philadelphia in 1745, opened a "Wine Store," where he sold, on a wholesale and retail basis, Madeira, Teneriffe, and Malaga, "Jamaica Spirits," Antigua rum, Philadelphia rum, brandy, and various sugars. Michael Gross, one of the larger German traders, confined his sales to ironware, rum, and sugar. Saddlery appears to have constituted an especially important part of Charles Hamilton's business; and in 1776 it was reported that the "Widow Moore" kept a shop devoted exclusively to the sale of earthenware and china. Also to be found in Lancaster were shops offering drugs and medicines almost exclusively. Henry Stuber, "at the golden Pestle and Mortar, in Queen Street . . . near the Court-house," carried on an extensive business after 1767, importing from London such "Drugs, Chymical and galenical Medicines" as "Anderson's, Hooper's, and



Lockyer's pills, Turlington's Balsam of life, Duffy's elixir, Bateman's Jesuits drops, elixir bardana and essence of water dock." Also available at his shop were "surgeon's capital and pocket instruments," French barley, and paints, as well as a selection of "fine pickled sturgeon [and] American herrings, almost equal to anchovies, by the barrel or cag."<sup>12</sup>

Most of the shops in the borough were owned by single proprietors, but by the 1760's partnerships began to appear more frequently and were the means by which certain traders were able to outstrip their competitors. More than a dozen such commercial associations are known to have existed in this period, most of them involving retailers of the town exclusively, the rest bringing together Lancaster storekeepers with associates located in Philadelphia and elsewhere. As early as 1745, Joseph Simon was a "silent partner" with Nathan Levy and David Franks, merchants of the capital city, in the direct importation of European and East Indian goods. With his keen eye for opportunity, indeed, Simon participated in at least a half-dozen joint business ventures of one type or another and at various times. Simon, Levy Andrew Levy, and the Lutheran shopkeeper Michael Hubley were "Merchants in Company" with David Franks of Philadelphia in 1760. Shortly afterwards, Simon joined in a venture with the gunsmith William Henry, the two of them selling from their "Store at the Corner of King Street . . . near the Court House" a wide variety of hardware items including locks, hinges, bolts, saws, guns, pistols, swords, dishes, toys, "silver links and studs," silver watches, and "instrument and toothpick cases." The company—which remained in existence until the gunsmith's death in 1786—engaged in the sale of rifles, not only in the vicinity of Lancaster, but also in Albany, New York City, and, possibly, Fort Detroit.<sup>13</sup>

A prosperous Quaker tanner, Isaac Whitelock, who was a burgess from 1752 to 1755, joined with his co-religionist George Dillwyn of Philadelphia, merchant, to open a wholesale store in Lancaster in 1760. This association seems to have lasted only a year or so, but shortly afterward, Whitelock formed a partnership with another Philadelphia dealer, Benjamin Davies, who managed their store at Fourth and Market streets in the Provincial capital. Already connected through family marriages, the shopkeepers Ludwig Lauman and Bernard Hubley formed a commercial partnership which was in existence in 1775. Another joint venture, that of Matthew Swan and John Patrick, originated sometime in the early 1770's, but it was dissolved in April, 1773. Late in the succeeding decade, as the town and the nation began to recover from the depression which followed the War of the Revolution, other commercial associations appeared. The company of Shippen and Funk opened "a New Store . . . where they have a general assortment of *goods* and *Merchandize* suitable to the season, and a variety of *Grocery* to be sold on the most reasonable Terms." Although



this partnership got off to a good start, it foundered after two years. Prior to his decline as a trader, Charles Hamilton, in association with Richard Gray, another storekeeper in the borough, fulfilled an ambition of long standing when, in 1785, they signed an agreement to operate a general store in Winchester, Virginia. An advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in July, 1783, announced the opening of a new "Medicinal and Drug Store," operated by Dr. Jacob Rieger and Company of Lancaster.<sup>14</sup>

The larger shopkeepers, especially those in partnership or in close association with dealers in Philadelphia, engrossed the bulk of the trade of the town and its neighborhood and dominated the mercantile activity of the borough. Although they did not, for the most part, deal directly in seaborne commerce themselves, they were men who, in consideration of the nature and scope of their trading operations, well merited the merchant's appellation accorded to them. In an earlier day, Matthias Jung appears to have traded extensively; the inventory of his estate, valued at a little more than £1,000 in goods and chattels and £1,200 in accounts receivable, included large supplies of hardware and other items generally stocked by shopkeepers. Also to be included among this group of large retailers and wholesalers are the names of William McCord and Ludwig Lauman, both of whom appear to have had extensive back-country business. The pervasive mercantile operations of John Cameron, who set up in Lancaster in the 1750's, evoked hostile reactions from his competitors and others in the town. His "setting up such a great Shop," wrote one leader of the community, "was very Hurtful to the Borough. In the first Place, he gave it out Publickly that he was resolved to undersell everybody both in Town and Country in order to draw all the Custom to himself, and he was as good as his Word . . . ." By his actions, Cameron allegedly "knockt up the Shopkeepers small and great (ruined most of them) except Ludwig Lauman who is very wealthy and one Christian Vertz [Wertz] a good Taylor . . . who made a shift to keep his small Shop a going, as his trade maintained his Family." Cameron was blamed, moreover, for drawing specie from the town, since "altho' . . . he received three or four times as much money as all the rest of the Shopkeepers put together, yet he could not spend including house Rent above £200 a Year, and all the rest of the Money which he received was always sent to Philadelphia, so that there would be but very little Cash circulating among us." The death of this merchant—so despised by his competitors—reportedly affected "far the greater number of Germans [in no sorrowful way]. The interests of the trading Parts of the Town were so incompatible with the Business carried on by him that he is not . . . permitted to remain in the silent Grave without Censure."<sup>15</sup>

Other traders in the town at other times could rival Cameron in the scope of their activities and their wealth. Paul Zantzinger, born in the bor-

ough in 1744, set up in trade there in the 1760's, and in the space of ten years became "a man of much business," to use the words of one of his most important customers, "Baron" William Henry Stiegel, founder of the glassworks at Manheim, Pennsylvania. Recovering from the setbacks he suffered in the days of Cameron's hegemony, Christian Wertz resumed a happy trade, announcing in May, 1773, that he was determined "without multiplying words," to sell his wares "on as low terms as any person can or will in Lancaster, which he flatters himself will be found so on trial." An important newcomer established himself in the town in 1771 when Charles Hamilton, merchant, settled there. The son of a Londonderry, Ireland, businessman, he opened a large wholesale and retail store, first in partnership with another trader, then as an individual proprietor. A most important part of the secret of Hamilton's success in Lancaster—in many ways he is reminiscent of John Cameron—was his close business relationship with John Mitchell, a trader of Philadelphia, who supplied him regularly and promptly with the commodities desired. Mitchell performed his services as a friend, not as a partner or "Principal" to Hamilton. "I am glad to find you would continue to do my business," the Lancaster storekeeper wrote to Mitchell in 1774, "which, if you will, no Man living Should, as I freely acknowledge your care, and that you Never Charged me anything for Your Sevral Services, and did in evry thing exert Yourself as if for a Brother."<sup>16</sup>

Far more important to the larger merchants than their retail sales in the borough were their wholesale dealings. The smaller shopkeepers of the town, as well as the craftsmen, bought their goods from the prominent dealers. Although most of the blacksmiths and gunsmiths of Lancaster probably purchased their metal directly from nearby forges, a few of them secured it from the larger storekeepers of the town, who acquired it themselves in payment for commodities they supplied to the furnaces and forges. For example, in one instance in 1767, William McCord, merchant, sold bar iron to John Miller, gunsmith, supplying him with "104 lb. of Iron." Outlying storekeepers were, however, the most important customers of the large traders in Lancaster. The company of Bush, Gratz, Levy, Franks, and Simon brought together Philadelphians and Lancastrians in the wholesaling of commodities to retailers in the back country. In 1762 they sued Bernard Jacob, a shopkeeper of Heidelberg Township, for £2,125.16.6—likely enough for goods sold to him, for which they had not received payment. Two years later, William McCord sold "3 Doz. of Clouk Gimp" and twenty-six yards of "Velvet Gimp" to a storekeeper who did not reside in the borough. The shopkeepers at the iron furnaces and forges nearby secured their provisions from the Lancaster merchants. William McCord, Michael Gross, John Cameron, and the company of Simon and

Henry regularly supplied merchandise to the stores at Elizabeth and Cornwall furnaces, Hopewell Furnace, Martie Forge, and "Baron" Stiegel's enterprises at Manheim. These dealings, including the remittances made by the iron and glass works, amounted to considerable sums. John Cameron's transactions with Hopewell Furnace from April 7 to December 20, 1769, totaled £1,332.18.8½.<sup>17</sup>

An indication of the extensiveness of Lancaster's trading connections can be gained from the records of William McCord. His daybook lists customers in Donegal, Derry, and Manor townships, as well as at Paxtang, Wright's Ferry, and Carlisle. That the traders of the borough extended their dealings to an even larger area, however, is suggested by several brief entries in this merchant's cashbook for November, 1766: "Cash pd. Diffenderfer for Hauling £32.1b.26 [32 hundredweight, 26 pounds] of Goods to Winchester"; and "Cash pd. John Spor for Hauling £22 of Iron to Winchester." The town's traders were considerably involved in an enriching trade with the interior and, accordingly, expressed concern over the creation of Cumberland County in 1749, because its county seat would obviously attract customers from "the back parts of Maryland and Virginia, who have for several years past dealt to very considerable Value with the people of Lancaster for Hatts, Saddles, and Gun Barrels &c."<sup>18</sup>

Reflective of the extensive market served by the commercial establishments of Lancaster were the advertisements which the town's traders placed in the widely circulating Philadelphia newspapers, especially after 1760, in the German-language sheets. Peter Spicker notified readers of the *Pennsylvanische Berichte* during 1750 that he had on hand "all sorts of shop goods at the cheapest price," and that he had recently imported from London a large assortment of cloth goods which he would sell "in dozens or singly." He also promised to barter equitably for "stretched squirrel skins." To launch his shopkeeping career in the borough in 1762, Phillip Becker placed an announcement in the *Wochentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*. There is something to be admired in the notice by James Peters, "Druggist and Chymist at the Medicinal Store in King's Street." He provided medicine chests and boxes "fitted out in the neatest manner, . . . for private families, with plain, intelligible directions, how they may be used with safety." But the highest honors for this means of attracting customers ought, perhaps, to be accorded to Martin Hoffman, who told readers of the *Staatsbote* that he not only "still keeps his [dry goods] Store at Lancaster as before," but that he has also "with the help of God, truly cured many Injuries and can, moreover, prescribe and supply all kinds of medicinal Provisions, as for Fever and Dysentery [Gichtfluss] and similar Sicknesses which prevail in this Country." That was the way to run a general store! The years between 1772 and 1774—when trade in the borough was at its

briskest level — were the ones in which the traders of the town advertised most frequently. For months on end, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and other papers carried announcements from Ludwig Lauman, Christian Wertz, Simon and Levy, Hamilton and Moore as well as other Lancaster storekeepers. "My Inclosed Advertisements," Hamilton wrote his friend John Mitchell in October, 1774, "please to have inserted in Bradford's Paper to be continued 2 Months; also to be put into Miller and Sower's Papers to be continued 2 Months." As an encouragement to the printers to insert these announcements "without delay," Hamilton always enclosed a 5s. bonus for each of them.<sup>19</sup>

#### — IV —

Whether they were individual enterprisers or partners in trade, large or small dealers, with customers only in the town or in the country as well, Lancaster's shopkeepers depended upon mercantile correspondents in Philadelphia to supply them with commodities and to provide other business services. The storekeepers of the borough established contacts with more than thirty countinghouses in the port during this period, and the frequent correspondence between them—orders placed, requests for extension of credit, complaints about inferior merchandise, sometimes an understated hint at legal action by the creditor if payment is not soon forthcoming—contains a rich treasury of information concerning the structure of inland commerce.

When he sought to establish connections with a Philadelphia merchant, the borough storekeeper was guided first of all by the reputation, inventory, and punctuality of his prospective associate. It is clear that almost every trader in Lancaster dealt with more than one Philadelphia merchant; Ludwig Lauman, indeed, called upon no fewer than fifteen dealers to supply him with the commodities he needed—by far the most widely known business correspondence of any shopkeeper in Lancaster. In many instances the choice of the Philadelphia correspondent was dictated by religious or family connections. Joseph Simon, for example, appears to have dealt almost exclusively with such Jewish traders in Philadelphia as the Franks and Gratz families, being related to the latter through marriage. Similarly, James Bickham and other Quaker storekeepers in the borough relied almost wholly upon such merchant Friends of the port city as Thomas Wharton, Abel James and Henry Drinker, and others. There is some suggestion, that the German retailers and wholesalers were guided in their choice of correspondents by religious and ethnic considerations. Wagonloads of goods destined for Lancaster's German traders frequently originated from Heinrich Keppele's store in the capital; and it was not



uncommon for the borough's shopkeepers to advise their suppliers to send up requested merchandise by way of Keppele's house.

With the arrival of the fall and spring vessels from London, a steady stream of orders for goods flowed from the Lancaster traders to their correspondents on the Delaware. In one letter typical of such requests, James Bickham advised Thomas Wharton to send him two or three barrels of brown sugar—"one of them at a lower price than the rest"—loaf sugar, a barrel or box of pipes, one pound of nutmegs, "I Doz. Chocolates," a similar quantity "of the finest Ivory Combs, if Good; if not Send none," and a dozen containers of the "Best Weston's Snuff . . . Pack'd up in Sugar or Some Safe Way." "If you have any Red Wood and Mather [Madeira]," wrote the German shopkeeper, Michael Gross, in search of wine from Wharton, "Sent me with the first apartuentyty a Smal Cask of Ach [Each] Sort if Yu have any as is good." In one of her many letters to John Reynell, the widow Mary Dougherty asked for "2 bottels of your best snuf, 1 Dosing of Knee buckils shuch as I had when I was Down last. If you have any small buckils for boys playse to send me I Dosing . . . ." Lancaster's traders were especially anxious to have on hand a full supply of wares at "Publick Times," as is revealed in the letter of one of them to his correspondent requesting "allspice, if it Coud be had before our Court." And as the winter and a subsequent reduction of freight carriage to the interior approached, every retailer was anxious to stock up on the most frequently demanded items.<sup>20</sup>

Ordering by mail posed certain disadvantages and difficulties for the inland merchant, forcing him most of the time to rely on the discretion of his Philadelphia correspondent. Often, the Lancaster storekeeper specified as clearly as possible exactly the commodity he wished, its quality, and the price he wished to pay for it—and he knew something about the latter from the Philadelphia newssheets as well as from the information on "Prices Current" supplied by the correspondent. Joseph Simon tried to be as precise as possible in one of the orders he sent to Barnard Gratz, requesting a pair of "good" Oznabrigs, a dozen pairs of men's white worsted ribbed hose, a dozen pairs of women's blue worsted hose, "Cross Barred" flannel for saddlecloths, a gross of blue, broadstriped saddle cloth, a barrel of "good" coffee ("buy it cheap"), a cask of rice, and "1 good German flute. I sell the broad here at 9d. yd and the Harrow @ 4½d. yd.," he added, "so you can buy it so as I may have a reasonable retailing proffitt at that Price." In this case, Simon also specified the merchants from whom certain of the commodities were to be purchased. Sometimes, however, the requirements of the Lancaster storekeeper were not so clearly specified, the order merely requesting items of the type which the shopkeeper had seen on a previous visit to the city.<sup>21</sup>

Lacking precisely the quality of goods desired by his inland correspondent, the Philadelphia merchant might send up a substitute "on tryal." "Have only sent 9lb. of Tea by way of tryall," Wharton informed Gross on one occasion, "not having any of that chest left which thy Wife had of when in Town. However, I think this good, and if it pleases will at any time send up more." If the supplying merchant did not have at his own store an item requested of him, he might try to secure it from a neighbor. "I am at present out of such Sugar as would sute thee," Thomas Wharton wrote in reply to a letter from Ludwig Lauman, "nor is there any to be bought in Town. I yesterday spent an hour or two in Searching for a barrell of Good for thee, but could not find any that I thought would do. If could, would have bought one and sent thee up. I expect a parcell in of very Good, every day from the West Indies, and the first I have will send thee up." When he wished to introduce a new commodity to the Lancaster storekeeper, or persuade him to try another quality of a familiar one, the city merchant might suggest a trial. "If the Horse Whips you formerly wrote about would Suit, I would take some of them," one retailer advised Thomas Wharton, "but Cannot judge without Seeing them. However if you Sent 2 or 3 Doz. of them and give Liberty to return them if not Suitable [I will try them.]"<sup>22</sup>

The goods forwarded to the borough by the merchant suppliers of Philadelphia were not always saleable. On more than one occasion, James Bickham complained to Thomas Wharton of unmerchantable commodities. "The Tearse of Sugar Turns out so black and soft," he once wrote with apparent reference to the brown variety, "that if I keep the Ballance [i.e. Payment] till it be Sold I'm doubtful your Patience Would be at an End." (Quaker traders were past masters at understatement.) On another occasion, Charles Hamilton complained to his associate John Mitchell that he was "really unfortunate in that Hogshead of Spirits I got from you. I was informed that putting a pound of Tea into it would take that Still-burned Taste off it, which I did, but the Tea has made it nearly as black as Ink. I really do not know what to do with it. I am trying to take the Blk. colour off it, and would be quite pleased if I should not sink [i.e. lose] more than 1s. p. Gallon by it. The Twang seems so strong that I find there is no other way to do but bring it down [in price] and sell if for N. England Rum. If you know any method to take the Black colour off it, or what might be done with it to most advantage, Should be obliged to you to write me." Needless to say, inferior goods meant a loss of custom for the borough shopkeeper, as well as a reluctance on his part to pay his correspondent for the items. "If you have Sugar," Bickham wrote to Wharton *a propos* of this, "Send me 2 or 3 Small Barrells of Best Collured to regain my lost Custom. As I told you, I lost much of my Customers by last Sugar . . . . The better the Sugar, the Sooner your paid."<sup>23</sup>

Given the brisk competition generated by the number of shopkeepers in the town, each trader was forced to modify somewhat the standard business formula: he had to buy cheap and sell cheap, securing his wares from Philadelphia with the least cost increment possible in order that he might sell them at the lowest price consistent with "a reasonable Proffitt." "Shops are very plenty here," wrote one Lancaster storekeeper, "and the Name of Dear Goods once got is a Loss of Custom . . . ." This is why the storekeeper frequently specified the price he was willing to pay for the desired commodities. Apologizing for not sending up the "Barr Lead" requested of him, Thomas Wharton told a Lancaster correspondent that he would have supplied it "if it could be purchas'd at the price limited, but it is risen to 36s. p. lb. Therefore thought it most prudent to waite for further Orders." The amount which the Lancaster shopkeeper was willing to pay for his goods was also determined by the prevailing prices in the borough. The necessity of selling at competitive prices was paramount. "I do not know how it comes," Hamilton informed Mitchell concerning an order for West Indian rum and wine, "but Sansinger [Paul Zantzinger] Always seems to Undersell me in these Articles. I request your Care in sending them good in quality and low as you can." Apparently, upon his arrival in the borough Hamilton was the man to undersell in the opinion of his competitors. "There is several advantages taken of me by my Neighbors," he complained, "respecting the rise and fall of the [Philadelphia] Market. They come and buy up any articles that Rises and I am always the last person that becomes acquainted with the Rise. They Bot all my Loaf Sugar, and only for my precaution would have bot my tea." Consequently, Hamilton asked Mitchell to place a note at the bottom of his letters "showing the prices of Articles subject to Rise and fall."<sup>24</sup>

Whenever there was a scarcity of particular commodities in Philadelphia, the shopkeeper in the borough would have to pay dearly for them or do without the item. Thus, Thomas Wharton had to advise John Hopson of Lancaster, storekeeper, "that the Hogshead of Redwood [Wine] I have by me is as good as the one sold to thee, but . . . I don't intend to sell it under 12*d.* p. lb. by the Hogshead, as I know there is none in town, and its very uncertain when our Londoners will arrive. And I likewise have Reason to believe there will be but Little in them, therefore will not take under 12 p. lb., and if thou wishes to have it at that, thou may inform me the next post."<sup>25</sup>

Most of the Lancaster traders secured their European commodities indirectly through the larger dealers in Philadelphia, but a few of them imported some of their wares directly from abroad on their own account. Charles Hamilton, who was one of the town's most important businessmen in the 1770's, imported a considerable portion of the commodities he sold

directly from London, Liverpool, and Dublin—a practice in which he was able to engage because of well-placed familial and commercial contacts in England and Ireland. Among Hamilton's commercial "Friends" in England—the merchants from whom he ordered some spring and fall shipments—were David and John Barclay, James White, Thomas Crowley and Son, John and Humphrey Barbour, and James Fouchett. Joseph Simon, who also imported some of his commodities directly from overseas, opened a commercial correspondence with the Crugers, merchants in Bristol, England, in 1783, using the services of his old friend David Franks to initiate the association. Franks informed the English traders that the Lancaster storekeeper was "Responsible [i.e. trustworthy] for any order [he] would Send for, that [he] had Property, Care, Industry, and Oeconomy," and, of course, that he was punctual in making remittances. "Having given you the Character of a Good and Honest Man," Franks then wrote to Simon, "I shall depend you'll not act otherwise . . . . In short, if you can expect and Mean to do business [with the Crugers] you must be quick in Remittance."<sup>26</sup>

Usually, the Lancaster trader was at the receiving end of the business services rendered by the Philadelphia merchants. But there were instances in which the advantageous location of the inland storekeepers placed them in the service of the city traders. Wholesalers at the port, in an effort to increase their business in the interior, frequently sent goods on commission to their Lancaster correspondents, who then acted as factors for them in the sale of the merchandise forwarded. There was considerable speculation in the borough as to whether John Cameron "sells all the Goods he receives from [Daniel] Wister on Commission or not. I cannot certainly tell," wrote a lawyer of the borough who was looking into the merchant's business activities on behalf of a client, "but I think it probable he sells much in that Way. I fancy it extremely difficult to determine our Shopkeeper's real Situation. That he sells cheap to many is very evident, but that his Prices are not the same to everyone who buys in his Shop is equally clear. Some few Articles he may possibly vend below the Wholesale Price, but this I take to be mere Stratagem, as he will not sell a dozen Pen Knives at the proportionable Price for which he disposes of a single one, and by this Means he has been able to engross the Greatest Part of the Trade of the Town and Retail other Articles, whose Prices are not so generally known, at their full Value to a Crowd of Customers. One thing greatly in Cameron's favour," the author of this very revealing letter continued, "is his Attention to Business, and his having supported his Credit for so many Years, which he would have found it impossible to do had he put off his Goods generally at an Under Value. I have heard some of your Philada. Merchts. attempt to answer the latter by remarking that this might well be, if you suppose that



the Debt with his *Principal* D[aniel] W[ister] is increased annually, and that of course when W. cracks, C. must inevitably go likewise. But this appears to me to be somewhat straining the Matter, since if this is the Case it must be supposed that C. for seven Years together has been ruining his Constitution, to break in the End for a larger Sum of Money, and that with his Eyes open to put himself at the Mercy of every Creditor. Besides, C. actually deals with many other Merchts. largely, and is not so timid or fearful of W. as to be wholly [illegible] with Regard to his Conduct."<sup>27</sup>

There are clearer indications, however, that the larger traders of the borough served on occasion as factors to Philadelphia principals. In April, 1768, Levy Andrew Levy and Joseph Simon remitted to Barnard and Michael Gratz an account for the sale of seven barrels of limes and two kegs of raisins, with an apology that they "did not turn out more to yr. Advantage." Frequently, a Lancaster shopkeeper was engaged by a merchant in the city to buy and ship to him certain agricultural and industrial products of the interior regions. William McCord sent large shipments of bar iron to such Philadelphia traders as Samuel and Cadwallader Morris, Samuel Purviance, Jr., Thomas Cullen, and Isaac Wikoff. Hemp and other agricultural produce, as well as beeswax, were also sent from the back country through Lancaster to the port in this manner. "Shall be much obliged if thou can send me down a Bushel of best Red Clover seed as soon as thou can," Thomas Wharton importuned James Bickham on one occasion. Large quantities of hemp were purchased from farmers living around Lancaster by William McCord, who shipped it to a number of Philadelphia traders.<sup>28</sup> Simon and Levy noted in one of their newspaper advertisements that they gave "the highest price for skins and furs, beeswax, and tallow." Hamilton and Moore proffered top prices for "bees-wax, hemp, flaxseed in its season, country-made linen, and most sorts of country produce." Charles Hamilton appears to have shipped some of the inland commodities that he acquired directly to England. Often, the Lancaster storekeepers sent inland produce to the merchants in Philadelphia to be sold on their own account; in these instances, the dealer at the port acted as a factor for his interior correspondent. In such transactions, the businessman in the borough sometimes stipulated the prices at which he wished to have his inland produce sold; and if the prices prevailing at Philadelphia were out of line with his expectations, he might ask the consignee to hold on to the items until their price on the market rose. Concerning a bushel of beeswax forwarded to the port for sale, Charles Hamilton observed that it was "of a good kind . . . indeed, one penny or two pence p. lb. better than any I have ever Sent you. I should not like to sell it under 2/2. If you can't get that, please Store it."<sup>29</sup>

All of the commodities shipped between the inland regions and Phila-

delphia were transported in wagons, among them the "Conestoga" wagons—those "Ships of Inland Commerce," as Benjamin Rush called them—developed in the region around Lancaster. Deprived of a navigable waterway which could be used for hauling freight and produce, Lancaster's businessmen depended upon a regularized channel of overland communication. "The great Trade carried on between the City of Philadelphia and the Borough of Lancaster and Parts beyond and adjacent," noted one observer in the 1760's, "is so well known to all Merchants, Tradesmen, Farmers, and almost to all the Inhabitants of this Province, that it should be useless to give a particular Account of the same . . . ." "There may be from 7,000 to 8,000 Dutch Waggons with four Horses each," wrote another commentator in the previous decade, "that bring their Produce and Traffick to Philadelphia, from 10 to 100 Miles Distance." Most of these vehicles—the number given above is probably much exaggerated—were farm wagons which brought the harvest from the interior in the appropriate season. But the more steady, almost year-round "Traffick" consisted of the conveyances engaged by shopkeepers in the borough and their correspondents in Philadelphia in pursuit of everyday commerce.<sup>30</sup>

For weeks on end, these ships on land—if so we may call them—made their two-day "voyages" to the city and back, interrupted for only a month or two in deepest winter when roads were nearly impassable and the price of carriage consequently dearer. At harvest time, the wagons from the vicinity of Lancaster and further west were sometimes assembled, fully loaded, in the borough and then set off in trains to Philadelphia. "There are many Waggons now in Town from these Parts," wrote one resident of the town to a friend in Philadelphia, "which will set off probably about the time that you receive this." So keen was the competition for freight space in the "Lancaster Waggons" that they were often "pre-engaged" for their return trip inland before they even set out for the eastern port. Transportation charges naturally swelled the price of the commodities purchased by the Lancaster traders from their Philadelphia correspondents, and the difference—just as naturally—was passed on to the consumer. Little information on Lancaster-Philadelphia freight rates is available. Some insight, however, comes from the fact that Joseph Simon and Levy Andrew Levy debited £2.10.0 (about 8*d.* per mile) in "carriage" charges to Barnard and Michael Gratz for sending nine barrels of limes and two kegs of raisins to Lancaster on consignment in 1768. These were sold for £15.1.2. The great wagon traffic was hard on the highways, forcing at least one genteel Lancastrian to sell his four-wheeled chaise on account of bad roads, torn up by "the great Quantitie of heavy loaded Waggons cutting them to pieces continually." It is hardly to be doubted that the wagoner's occupa-

tion, dependent upon this enormous inland commerce, required something akin to a Mississippi River boatman's skill to maneuver the vehicles. Their recognition of the importance of overland routes in the trade of the interior occasioned great concern among the traders in the borough and in Philadelphia as to the best upkeep of the roads (see Chapter 7).<sup>31</sup>

– V –

“Goods received” had to be paid for. But in an economy chronically short of specie, businessmen had to utilize media other than cash in commercial exchanges and had to develop instrumentalities which facilitated the keeping of accounts. Barter and credit served the purpose well. Beeswax, bar iron, flour, and other commodities were widely accepted forms of exchange; and the town and country customers of the borough's storekeepers formed the base of a credit pyramid which narrowed upward from the Lancaster trader, his city correspondent, and, at the apex, the British countinghouses.

For the commodities he sold, the shopkeeper in the borough was paid in cash or in produce. The “Cash Book” of the storekeeper William McCord offers some insight into the workings of the system. To settle the debts owed to him by customers in the town, this trader sometimes made purchases from their shops. Thus, he cancelled a £10.11.10 balance owed to him by the baker Paul Weitzel by purchasing “sundry merchandize” from the latter totaling £10.14.9—which then gave Weitzel a credit of 2s.11d. Lawrence Marquedant, paid his debt to McCord with stockings he had woven. Country customers discharged their debts to the traders of Lancaster in similar fashion. One such debtor, evidently a retailer himself, satisfied his obligations to McCord by conveying to him twelve pounds of tea and £90 in cash. Another country man paid a debt of £15.3.4 with bushels of flaxseed and by “hauling” for McCord. In 1766 Nathaniel Giles, who was probably the storekeeper at Cornwall Furnace, paid for some commodities which he bought from the Lancaster dealer with bar iron worth more than £300.<sup>32</sup>

Every trader in the borough, usually selling his own wares on credit, depended upon a system of deferred payments to satisfy his own obligations to commercial correspondents. When a borough storekeeper received items from particular Philadelphia merchants only infrequently, a “ready pay”—actually, a sort of cash on delivery—system was employed. Requesting his regular Philadelphia correspondent to secure some articles for him, James Bickham once stipulated that “if Johnson in front Street Sends me a box of good hard Soap, please to pay for it or assure him the money next Post.” “When we had the pleasure of last serving thee with Goods,” James

and Drinker wrote to Christian Wertz in 1769, "we expected it was for ready pay, as thou did not propose a Credit to us." At other times when he was dealing with an occasional correspondent, the Lancaster storekeeper might ask for a short-term credit of from six months to a year. "The debt thou contracted with us about twelve months since," James and Drinker once wrote to Robert Fulton, a Lancaster retailer and father of a famous namesake, "should have been paid according to Agreement long since. As it is the only Dealing we have had together, are very sorry that in this first tryal thou hast so much disregarded thy promise of paying us in six months." Although most of the remittances sent from the borough to the port were in cash, "country produce" and bar iron were sometimes sent down, the Philadelphia merchants then noting their market value and crediting their inland correspondents accordingly.<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps the most sophisticated device which the Lancaster trader might employ in settling his debts in Philadelphia or—if he dealt abroad—in London or elsewhere, was the bill of exchange. "This significant instrument was an order of a first person, the drawer, upon a second, the payer, to pay a specified sum in the currency of the payee's country, to a third, the payee." In discharging their own debts to London countinghouses, Philadelphia merchants sometimes drew bills of exchange upon their Lancaster customers. For example, in April, 1769, John Cameron forwarded £735.9.3 in Pennsylvania currency—which was less in value than sterling—to Carson, Barclay, and Mitchell, merchants of London. This Cameron did at the order of Daniel Wister, his creditor, who was himself indebted to the English house for £445.11.1, the sterling equivalent of Cameron's currency remittance. During his partnership with George Dillwyn, the Lancaster trader Isaac Whitelock used this instrument in settling accounts with the London house of Neate and Pigon.<sup>34</sup>

## -VI-

The key to Lancaster's success—to its viability as a town—was commerce. It was both a regional marketing center and an emporium for the hinterland stretching into western Pennsylvania and the northern part of the Valley of Virginia. In the town's fulfillment of these economic functions, the storekeepers were essential. They were the necessary middlemen both in the distribution of European commodities on the frontier and in the collection of western agricultural produce and its transmission to the port of Philadelphia, from whence some of it was distributed to other mainland colonies, to the West Indies, and to Europe. Not long after the establishment of Lancaster, a regularized and reasonably efficient system of commercial intercourse had been developed by the inland merchants of



the town and their partners and suppliers in Philadelphia. In an economy which was chronically short of specie, the traders used a mixed medium of exchange consisting both of cash transactions and barter. Lancaster's storekeepers did not participate equally in this process nor did they share equally in its rewards. The larger merchants—wholesalers sometimes in partnership with Philadelphia dealers or else able to draw upon them for extensive credit resources—engrossed the bulk of the inland commerce, became an elite among the traders, and constituted the wealthiest inhabitants of the town.

CHAPTER FIVE

*Skins, Pelts,  
and Indian Truck*

**T**IED to the back country by virtue of their great commerce with the interior settlements, several of the larger businessmen of Lancaster were linked to it in another way. An important adjunct to their pursuit of wealth was the Indian trade, one of the oldest avenues to prosperity for thriving merchants and political leaders in Pennsylvania. By the 1750's, the most dynamic and important phase of Anglo-French rivalry in the fur or Indian trade was in the central and upper Ohio Valley, and in the area south of Lake Erie. Traders from Carolina, New York, and Virginia were to be found in the region, but their participation was sporadic. The Indian traders of Pennsylvania developed systematically the trading potential of the area, backed by a sufficient supply of low-cost merchandise and spurred by their own initiative and resourcefulness. The Appalachian barrier notwithstanding, these Anglo-American counterparts of the French voyageurs had by mid-century pushed the traders' frontier to the area near the Wabash and Maumee rivers, about five hundred miles beyond the most westerly farming settlements of the Juniata Valley. They had even made attempts to move toward the Mississippi—a cause for anxiety among the governing officials of French Canada. Indeed, the determination of the Canadians to regain their trading hegemony in the Ohio country was an immediate cause of the French and Indian War.<sup>1</sup>

— I —

Bearing commodities commonly known as “Indian Truck,” supplied by merchant-backers in Philadelphia and in Lancaster, the traders exchanged with the Indians such items as the coarse cloth called shrouds or duffles, scissors, hoes, axes, edged tools, linen, blankets, ribbons, thread, “matchcoats,” mirrors, beads, combs, buttons, cheap jewelry—and liquor. Out of “the Woods” they returned with deer, elk, bear, and buffalo skins, as well as beaver, raccoon, fox, cat, muskrat, mink, and other furs used in the colonies and in Europe for hats and other apparel. “These traders, for the most part,” began one description of this breed, “are as wild as some of

the most savage Indians, amongst whom they trade . . . They go back into the country . . . [where] they live with the Indian hunters until they have disposed of their cargoes, and their ass-horses carry their skins, &c., to Philadelphia, where they are bought by the merchants there, and from thence exported to London." Lancaster was an important station on the east-west journey of the traders. With their pack trains plodding along "the road from Lancaster to Allegheny," these men took the course to Harris' Ferry, then to Shippensburg, thence to the Potomac River dividing Maryland and Virginia, and on into the Ohio Valley.<sup>2</sup>

Lancaster's role in the fur trade involved the activity of a few men who were traders, not in the sense that they actually bartered with the Indians, but in their capacity as merchants who, in association with partners at Philadelphia, employed their capital in the purchase of those European goods preferred by the tribes and in the manufacture of "Indian Truck." As early as 1744, Edward Smout of the borough appears to have been engaged in this business. He "Drives a Bold Strok among the Traders," someone reported at that time, "and if ther is not a Stope put to it he will Ruen a grat maney of them." Apparently, Smout backed some of the traders. The "Bold Strok" probably refers to demands which he placed upon them for immediate reimbursement. The fact that Smout served as administrator of the estate of John Armstrong, a Frankstown and Chesson trader on the Juniata before 1744, further suggests his involvement in this business.<sup>3</sup> The most extensive fur-trade operation carried on in Lancaster, however, was that supervised by the shopkeeper Joseph Simon and his associates. The "silent partnership" which brought him into a commercial relationship with Nathan Levy and David Franks, merchants of Philadelphia, in the 1740's, also involved the Indian trade; later the group included the Gratz family of Philadelphia. Simon formed a partnership with his nephew and son-in-law Levy Andrew Levy. The last was a peripatetic partner, traveling almost as much as the bartering traders themselves; in the 1750's, he was likely to be found almost anywhere a contract could be made for beaver skins on the frontier between Winchester, Virginia, and Fort Detroit. In 1759, by which time the French and Indian War had disorganized Pennsylvania fur trading enterprises, he was in Winchester, perhaps seeking a southwestern outlet for the trade through the Valley of Virginia.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to these associations, Simon formed other long-term partnerships, as well as "particular ventures" for a more limited period. In 1760, for example, he, Nathan Levy, and David Franks joined William Trent, who was then assistant deputy Indian agent for the Province, in a nine-year partnership to trade with the western Indians. The company maintained a store at Fort Pitt.<sup>5</sup> While these partnerships were in effect,

Simon also traded on his own account. He was probably the backer of Robert Callender and Michael Taiff, both "Indian Traders of the County of Cumberland," in the autumn of 1753.<sup>6</sup> With the German blacksmith, John Miller of Lancaster, moreover, he formed an association around 1759, the former making horse bells, beaver traps ("Bieberfallen"), and wagon parts—more than likely in connection with the Indian trade.<sup>7</sup> In the 1760's, he ran a store at Fort Pitt in company with Thomas Mitchell.<sup>8</sup>

Edward Shippen, who came to Lancaster in 1753 as prothonotary and recorder for the Courts of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, had previously been associated with his Philadelphia merchant partner Thomas Lawrence in the Indian trade. Although the union was dissolved shortly after Shippen's settlement in the borough, he continued to trade on his own account.<sup>9</sup>

Working for these merchant backers was a group of "traveling Traders," who carried the goods to be bartered with the Indians and, aided by lesser traders whom they employed as assistants, brought the skins and furs down from the interior. Sometime between 1744 and 1748, Alexander Lowrey, son of the trader Lazarus Lowrey of Donegal Township, allied himself in an association with Joseph Simon which lasted for forty years. His brothers Daniel, James, and John Lowrey also worked for Simon and his associates. By the 1750's, the Simon group had become the backers of George Croghan, the "King of the Traders," who had previously been employed by Shippen and Lawrence exclusively. John Hart, who seems to have resided in the borough, also worked for the Simon-Franks group; he was probably, indeed, the John Hart, "culler," listed in the borough assessment list for 1759.<sup>10</sup>

Lancaster was a depot on the fur traders' route extending from Philadelphia to "the woods" in the Ohio country. To the warehouses maintained in the borough by Simon and the Philadelphia merchants were sent the commodities to be bartered with the red men. From this storage place the goods were entrusted to the care of the traders as they began their westward trips. In March, 1765, for example, Simon and Levy Andrew Levy supplied George Croghan with "Sundrys for the Use of the Indians" worth £2,037.11.10½. The wares included a silk shirt, two dozen silk handkerchiefs, 19 dozen jewsharps, 14 snaffle bridles, 20 hunting saddles, 17 tomahawks and axes, 52 pewter basins, 2,400 gun flints, 36,400 pieces of "black wampum" (beads), 24,100 pieces of "white wampum," 27 hair plates, 136 wrist bands, 163 dozen broaches, and 107 pairs of "Ear Bobbs."<sup>11</sup> To Ephraim Blaine, a trader at Pennsborough in Cumberland County, Simon sent on his own account in 1769, £40 worth of items, including saddles and—packed in a "Nail Cask"—bridles, silver shirt broaches, hair broaches, and horse bells. "Hope they will come safe to hand and to your



satisfaction," he wrote.<sup>12</sup> Simon employed a silversmith, Daniel East, to make trinkets for the Indian trade. When George Croghan was placed in charge of building fortresses in Cumberland County to protect the western settlers during the French and Indian War, Simon supplied the Provincial government with £50 worth of silver articles for Indian gifts. In 1767, he sought to secure the attention and "the custom" of Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs for the colonies. "Mr. Simon is an eminent trader of this town," wrote a Lancastrian friend of Sir William in the merchant's behalf, "He keeps the business of a silversmith a going, and has for several years supplied the Indians at Pittsburgh with silver truck. He sent you, he says, by Colonel Croghan . . . a sample of his work and begs you to recommend himself to your favor in this way. He is esteemed a man fair in his dealings and honest from Principle . . . ." Simon's commercial correspondence with Barnard and Michael Gratz, merchants in Philadelphia, frequently referred to the items needed for the Indian trade.<sup>13</sup>

The goods used in the Indian trade, whether supplied by merchants in Lancaster or Philadelphia, were provided on credit to the traveling traders, who were expected to settle their accounts when they returned east with their goods. Thus, in the Indian trade, as in the trade between the colonists and the British merchants, a network of credit extended ultimately to Great Britain; the merchants at London or Bristol sent their wares on credit to the Philadelphia mercantile houses which, in turn, advanced the commodities to the larger Indian traders, and they to their assistants. To encourage the Indians to hunt and trap more eagerly, the traders customarily turned over their "Indian Truck" even before receiving the desired furs and skins. Upon receiving the items to be exchanged with the Indians, the trader gave his bond to the merchant-backer. To secure a debt of £616.12.2½ which he owed to Shippen and Lawrence in 1753—for "Indian Truck" received from them—Daniel Lowrey bound himself in the amount of £1,233.4.5, and mortgaged land which he owned in Donegal Township, Lancaster County. A bond of £8,164 given by William Trent of Cumberland County to David Franks and Joseph Simon in 1769 was occasioned by similar circumstances.<sup>14</sup>

When the traders returned to Lancaster with their pack trains, the skins and furs were stored in warehouses, sorted, culled, and prepared for shipment by wagon to Philadelphia. Waiting at the borough in July, 1750, Simon's partner William Trent informed a correspondent that "John Potts is just arrived from Allegheny." Similarly, on one occasion in the 1760's, Patrick Allison informed Baynton and Wharton, Philadelphia merchants and backers in the Indian trade, that he was in Lancaster waiting for a load of furs to come down from Fort Pitt. After being culled, the furs were wrapped in bundles for conveyance to the port city. In September, 1748,

the Lancaster tavernkeeper George Gibson supplied a wagon "to Carry Eighteen Hundred weight of fall Deer Skins," belonging to the trader George Croghan, from Lancaster to Philadelphia. "By Slough's Waggon youll receive," wrote Joseph Simon to Barnard Gratz in August, 1762:

13 Bundles fall [Deer] skins	contg. 377 skins	Wt 1402 lb.
1 small bundle do.	11 damaged	37
2 bundles summer do.	82	230
1 bundle damaged do.	24	17
3 bundles Beaver	132	219
1 bundle Racoons	200 2 fall wrappers	198

In the same shipment, Simon forwarded two additional wagonloads containing 598 fall deerskins, 301 raccoon pelts, 197 summer deerskins, and 40 beaver pelts. This cargo shipped to Gratz was to be disposed of for the account of Simon and of Thomas Mitchell, his partner at Fort Pitt. "Please to let Shank unload his fall skins at Baynton and Wharton's," the Lancaster storekeeper advised, "the Raccoons by [Shank] you'll keep with the rest of the furr by the other Waggon and summer skins. Let there be 20 Wt. fall skins unloaded at Mr. Bushes, and tell him to pay Jere[miah] Warder a Ballance I owe him of £45.13.10. You'll please to keep an exact accot. [of the] sales of these for [Simon and Mitchell]." Shortly after this, Simon sent down another load of pelts on his own account through Gratz to Baynton and Wharton, who presumably shipped them to correspondents in England. "Them skins were all cull'd here and merchantable," warned Simon, "so don't let them cull to much." "Always mention in yr letter," he reminded Gratz on another occasion, "if you receive the loose Skins I send you by each Waggon agreeable to my letter, as they [the wagoners] may Steal them."<sup>15</sup>

Before his partnership with Thomas Lawrence expired in 1755, Edward Shippen supervised the western branch of the company's operations from Lancaster, sometimes going to the Susquehanna or "back into the Woods" to meet the traders and to settle business matters. In August, 1753, Shippen and Lawrence received from Alexander Lowrey and his associates ten bundles of fall doe skins weighing 2,026 lbs., "being the same skins that Edwd. Shippen looked over lately" at a house on the west side of the Susquehanna. Shippen appears to have traded on his own account after the expiration of his association with Lawrence. "I congratulate you on Account of your good Luck in Trade this Year," he wrote to Hugh Crawford, one of Croghan's lieutenants, in 1753, "I should take it as a very Particular favour in you if you will deliver Mr. John Harris upon my Accot. two thousand weight of good Summer Skins and then if you want a Hundred Pounds worth of goods, I have that Quantity lying at Mr. Chesneys for which I will write an order in your favour." In the following year, Shippen

expressed apprehension "that Wm West will persuade Alexander Lorey to deliver him my Skins; however, if such a piece of knavery should be committed amongst them, I shall work Alexander Lowrey."<sup>16</sup>

Some Indians, both from the neighborhood and from a greater distance, came directly to the borough to trade. "At the request of our Magistrates," Edward Shippen advised Governor Morris in 1755, "I am to acquaint Your [Honour] that here are seven or eight Indians who call themselves our friends who have sold what Skins they have brought with them, and converted their money into Guns, Powder, and Lead . . . ." The officers of the town feared, however, that some of this ammunition might get into the hands of the enemy, and "hearing that more of these Indians are to be in town this week or the next," the magistrates wished to know, Shippen continued, "whether it may not be proper to refuse to sell any Guns &c. to them." Sometime either before or after this time, a "Commission Store" was established in the borough for direct exchanges with the Indians.<sup>17</sup>

The profits to be made from the Indian trade appear to have attracted the investment funds of other Lancastrians. "Yesterday I heard that [Patrick?] Moran was down at Fort Frederick," wrote a correspondent in 1761, "and Mr. Geo. Ross [a lawyer in the borough] who he had the last goods from and he are gone off for Pittsburg on Account of his Horses and Loads being Stop'd there." In November term, 1762, William Jevon, another Lancaster attorney, sued George Croghan for £214.16.10, for investments made by the advocate in Croghan's trading activities.<sup>18</sup>

Pontiac's uprising in 1763 cost the lives of many of the traders scattered through the interior forests and inflicted heavy financial losses upon the merchants who backed them. The partnership of Simon and Mitchell claimed to have lost £3,085.15.8, while the company of Franks, Trent, and Simon reported a setback of £24,780.1.8. Both figures were probably exaggerated. Simon was among a group who, in 1763, subscribed a "Memorial of the Merchants of the Province of Pennsylvania concern'd in the late Trade with the Indians," to Governor Robert Monckton of New York. They urged him to support their application to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in England, for compensation from the king. Eventually recompense for these "Suffering Traders" came not from the crown but from representatives of the Six Nations who, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, conveyed to them a tract of land in the Ohio Valley. The recipients, including Joseph Simon and Levy Andrew Levy, named the tract Indiana and tried to establish it as a new colony. In association with a partner at Pittsburgh, Simon planned to lay out a city at a site on the Ohio River which would have given them an advantageous position in the fur trade of the valley.<sup>19</sup>

## — III —

Lancaster remained an important station in the Pennsylvania fur trade until the 1780's. Merchants most prominently involved in the Indian trade after the French and Indian War were Joseph Simon and his son-in-law Levy Andrew Levy, who maintained their connections with such men as George Croghan and Ephraim Blaine. They continued to employ a silversmith to make "Truck" for the Indians. George Morgan, agent for Indian affairs, informed the Commissioners of the Middle Department in 1776 that Simon could furnish "a good Assortment" of silver work "at a short Notice." In the advertisements which they placed in the newspapers in connection with their Lancaster store, Simon and Levy boasted of paying "the highest price for skins and furs . . . ." Simon linked himself with new partners, including Abraham Mitchell, Robert Campbell, and the Gratz brothers of Philadelphia. In 1774, he and several of his associates obtained the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians on the frontiers of Virginia.<sup>20</sup>

Some of the Lancaster businessmen involved in the Indian trade tried to enlarge their volume of sales. "Some of our Skinners are gone a Trading to New England," Levy Andrew Levy noted in 1781, "and will not be home this Four Weeks . . . ." <sup>21</sup> Furs from all parts of America were offered for sale in the borough, and at the commission store established earlier merchants traded for furs with the few Indians still living in the vicinity, "and also with those from a greater distance, who exchanged their furs and peltries for beads, blankets, cutlery, and rum . . . ." <sup>22</sup> With the establishment of English dominance in the Ohio Valley after the French and Indian War, merchants interested in the Indian trade had set up posts in that region, most notably at Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh). Joseph Simon and Robert Campbell were partners in a store there in 1775, as were Barnard and Michael Gratz.<sup>23</sup>

As a result of the losses which they incurred in the Indian uprisings of the 1760's, several Lancaster merchants received large tracts of western lands. When George Croghan opened a land office at Fort Pitt in 1770 and sold tracts in the interior which he had acquired in his days as "King of the Traders," Joseph Simon received a deed to 10,580 acres on Raccoon Creek in the Ohio River Valley region; this he received as security for a long-outstanding debt owed to him from Croghan. In July, 1773, Simon and Levy Andrew Levy were among a group of twenty-three traders who received from the Illinois Indians a plot of land covering more than half of the present state of Illinois. They never took up this land, however, for Virginia claimed it as a part of her western territory and refused to recognize the traders' claims. Simon and Levy, as well as the Lancaster innkeeper,



Matthias Slough, were among the proprietors of the Indiana Company, an association composed of merchants and traders who had claims to Indian lands in that region.<sup>24</sup>

## CHAPTER SIX

# *Laborious Handicrafts*

IN THE Mechanical Arts," more than one admirer of Lancaster observed, "this place . . . produces many ingenious Workmen, some of whom are deemed not inferior to any in the Province, who have exhibited sufficient Proof of their Skill in their respective Occupations." The borough was, above all, a haven for industrious artificers, representative of those "laborious Handicrafts" William Penn deemed so essential to a flourishing commonwealth. Their number ranged between sixty-one and seventy per cent of the heads of families whose occupations are known in the period from 1759 to 1788, and they engaged in the pursuit of more than fifty crafts.<sup>1</sup>

Like their trading neighbors, the craftsmen worked at their own houses, producing the articles needed by dwellers in the town and the surrounding countryside in the daily course of their lives; more than one-third of the artisans, indeed, were engaged in the manufacture of shoes and other wearing apparel. All of them benefited from the rich agricultural region and the few fledgling extractive industrial enterprises that existed nearby. Their shops evoked the fascination of many a boy in the town who was eager to learn, or simply to watch, a craftsman's art. Young Robert Fulton, whose father was one of the town's storekeepers, found the gunsmiths and other "mechanics" especially intriguing, and preferred to spend whole hours at a time in their presence rather than attending to his lessons. But then, as the future developer of the steamboat explained, his youthful head was "so full of original notions that there was no vacant chamber to store away the contents of any dusty books."<sup>2</sup> To learn a trade was, indeed, to learn by watching and emulating men whose art had been transmitted to them in precisely the same manner from preceding generations.

Like their trading neighbors, the artisans came under the regulation of the town. Effective control of the butchers was a recurring problem. As early as 1743, the slaughterers were enjoined by local ordinance to sell their meat only at the market place, rather than at their own houses, on market days; but similar legislation of a later date—occasioned in one instance by a town meeting called specifically for the purpose—attest to

the preference of the butchers for vending meat at their own homes, even after they were assigned stalls at the market place. To facilitate compliance with the borough's regulations, the town meeting drew up a scheme in 1770 whereby the stalls of the butchers were numbered according to a plan with a rent fixed for each stand, depending on its location. The dressing of meat on the pavements of the market place, a practice which gave rise to bloody pools, dirt, and other "disagreeable Conditions" at the market, was the subject of other legislation; the careless butchers were required to make certain "that no beef, mutton, or other meat be blown up" with breath to give it more weight. All of these regulations seem to have been honored more in the breach than in the observance.<sup>3</sup>

Although the corporation had no unilateral authority to establish weights and measures, which was exclusively the power of the Provincial legislature, it was responsible for enforcing the assizes (correct weight per unit of volume) of bread and cordwood. To put a stop to "bakers not making their bread of sufficient weight in proportion to the price charged," the town meeting required, in 1744, that the clerk of the market make frequent visits to the bakers' shops to weigh their products. Any loaves of bread found to be deficient in weight were to be taken to a burgess and then to be distributed free to the poor. The breadmakers were called to a special meeting in October, 1771, so that the magistrates could consult with them concerning the most convenient way of fixing the assize of bread for the future. Almost all of the bakers agreed at that time to get the weekly assize list from the clerk of the market and to abide by it; most of them concurred, moreover, with the requirement that they find out each week the current price of wheat—which was necessary to determine the assize of bread—from local millers specified for the purpose. For their part, the bakers expressed their dissatisfaction with the weight measure used to determine the assize. Consequently, in 1772, the corporation forwarded to the Assembly a petition requesting that the Provincial law concerning the assize of bread be modified "so that the bakers may use the *Averdupois* Weight instead of the Troy-Weight" then in use. Lancaster's bakers were reportedly unfamiliar with the Troy weight measure and thus "frequently subjected themselves to the penalties of the law without design"; moreover the lack of avoirdupois scales, with which most of the town's inhabitants, too, were alone familiar, allegedly prevented the townspeople from detecting "any Fraud or Impositions of the Bakers." The clerk of the market made inspections from time to time of the cordwood offered for sale in the town. If a cord was found to be deficient in measure, the clerk judged the damages suffered by the purchaser and deducted it from the price of the wood; he received 4*d.* for the cord so measured, one half of it paid by the seller, the remainder by the purchaser.<sup>4</sup>

## — II —

An abundant supply of hides facilitated the early emergence of leather workers as one of the most important craft groups in the borough. Leather workers comprised approximately one-quarter of all Lancaster artisans in the years prior to the Revolution, although the percentage declined thereafter. Shoemakers were most numerous among them. John Bromfield, cordwainer, was following this trade as early as 1748. Eleven years later, thirty-four men were engaged in shoemaking, and by 1790 the number had increased to thirty-five. Saddlers were always able to find a large number of customers, not only from within and around the town, but also among settlers already established on, or en route to, the frontier. Nineteen saddlers were living in Lancaster in 1759, though by 1788 the number had dropped to eleven. Perhaps the most prominent member of this group of craftsmen was Philip Lenhere (Lenhart), a German immigrant whose popularity in the town gained for him the position of burgess in 1757 and 1758. Shoemakers and saddlers were dependent, of course, upon the tanning of hides, one of the first industrial activities in the community. John Foulks, a Quaker, supervised a "Commodious Tanyard," consisting of 350 hides in the vats and a "large Quantity of Bark," at the time of his death in 1747. The Singer family, also among the pioneers in the processing of leather in the town, grew so prosperous that they were able to open a second yard in Philadelphia. Of special note, however, was the tannery owned by Valentine Krug, it being "provided with sufficient Water" and so well arranged that "the Water itself runs into the Slime Pit, or Water Pool." Indeed, local residents boasted that "hardly another Tanyard, especially in Towns, will be found like it."<sup>5</sup>

Lancaster's rapid growth in the first three or four decades of its existence encouraged numerous artisans involved in the building trades, carpenters (joiners) and masons being most common among them. This craft group comprised twenty per cent of the heads of families known to have been artisans in 1759 and fifteen per cent at the end of the period. The masons had at their disposal a lime kiln, located at the west end of Chestnut Street; it had been in existence as early as 1753. A brickmaker, Thomas Brown, had set himself up in the town by mid-century. He was followed by Peter Albright, who enjoyed a monopoly in this occupation for many years, making his bricks at the yard on the west end of Orange Street. A glazier, Michael Frank, was the only craftsman of this type residing in the town for most of the period 1759-1790. By 1770, two plasterers were on hand, and two painters. Thus, as the borough grew, craftsmen with more specialized talents in the construction trades were available.<sup>7</sup> Practitioners of the woodworking trades, closely allied to the construction workers, are not



clearly differentiated in the earliest records of the town; the borough census of 1759, for example, lists only carpenters and coopers. Subsequently, however, the designations became more specific and included carpenters, joiners, coopers, and turners. Some of these craftsmen made items of furniture. In 1754, from his shop at the "Sign of the Hand Saw," Thomas Poulteney sold not only ironmongery but also "furniture suitable for desks, drawers, &c." The borough assessment list for 1782 lists four "chair-makers"—the only instance in which artisans in the woodworking group are identified as the fabricators of a specialized item of furniture.<sup>8</sup>

LANCASTER ARTISANS, 1759 — 1788<sup>6</sup>

	1759	1770	1788
<i>Leather Crafts:</i>			
Shoemaker	34	33	35
Saddler	19	14	11
Tanner	7	11	4
Skindresser (Skinner)	5	7	7
<i>Total</i>	65 (26.1%)	65 (22.5%)	57 (17.7%)
<i>Building Crafts:</i>			
Carpenter (Joiner) (Schreiner)	27	22	25
Mason	22	19	19
Brickmaker	1	3	1
Glazier	1	1	0
Plasterer	0	2	1
Painter	0	2	1
Stonecutter	0	0	1
Bricklayer	0	0	3
<i>Total</i>	51 (20.4%)	49 (17.0%)	51 (15.8%)
<i>Textile Crafts:</i>			
Tailor	20	22	23
Weaver	13	13	24
Stockingweaver	4	11	3
Blue dyer	1	2	3
Buttonmaker	1	0	0
Woolcomber	0	2	0
Hatter	5	10	14
Reedmaker	0	1	0
Britchesmaker	0	0	1
Weaver's platemaker	0	0	1
<i>Total</i>	44 (17.6%)	61 (21.1%)	69 (21.4%)
<i>Metal Crafts:</i>			
Blacksmith	11	17	8
Whitesmith	0	0	17
Locksmith	5	1	0
Gunsmith	4	5	7
Nailsmith	4	2	5
Tinker (Tinner)	3	2	3
Coppersmith	1	1	2
Saddletreemaker	1	1	1

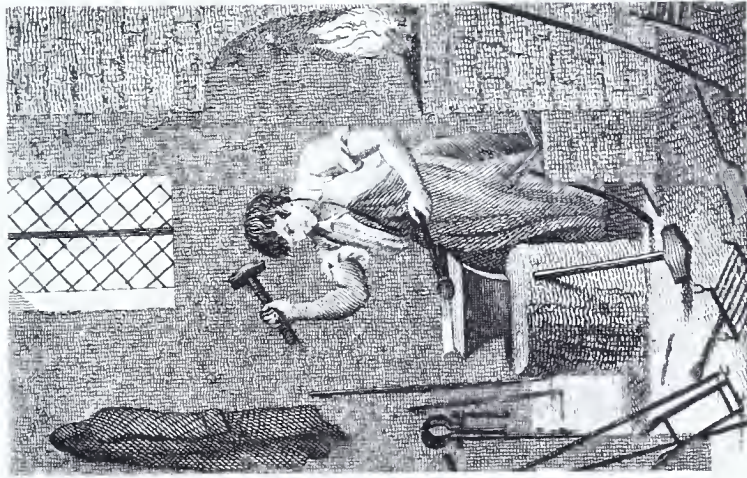
Wheelwright	8	0	5
Founder (brass)	0	0	2
Pumpmaker	0	0	2
<i>Total</i>	<u>37</u> (14.8%)	<u>29</u> (10.0%)	<u>52</u> (16.1%)
<i>Wood Crafts:</i>			
Cooper	4	13	10
Turner	0	7	7
<i>Total</i>	<u>4</u> (1.6%)	<u>20</u> (6.9%)	<u>17</u> (5.2%)
<i>Food Processing:</i>			
Baker	21	15	13
Brewer	2	3	3
Butcher	3	17	16
Distiller	0	4	4
<i>Total</i>	<u>26</u> (10.4%)	<u>39</u> (13.5%)	<u>36</u> (11.1%)
<i>Luxury Crafts:</i>			
Clockmaker	2	1	}7
Watchmaker	1	1	
Silversmith	1	3	2
Organmaker	0	0	1
<i>Total</i>	<u>4</u> (1.6%)	<u>5</u> (1.7%)	<u>10</u> (3.1%)
<i>Other Crafts:</i>			
Tobacconist	7	9	6
Potter	2	3	1
Barber	2	3	3
Soapboiler	1	0	0
Waggonmaster	1	0	0
Bookbinder	1	1	0
Ropemaker	4	2	2
Culler (furs and skins)	1	0	0
Tallowchandler	0	1	3
Printer	0	0	4
Brushmaker	0	0	1
Hackler	0	0	9
"Sweep"	0	1	0
Wigmaker	0	0	1
<i>Total</i>	<u>19</u> (7.6%)	<u>20</u> (7.0%)	<u>30</u> (9.3%)
Total Taxables (excluding freemen)	474	472	625
Total Occupations listed	420	443	523
Total Artisans	249	288	322
Percentage of Artisans among taxables	73%	65%	61%

A large number of Lancaster's craftsmen were involved in the manufacture of clothing and the processing of textiles; seventeen per cent of all the artisans were engaged in this activity in 1759, twenty-one per cent in 1770, and the same percentage in 1788. In an age when much wearing apparel was made to order, tailors did a thriving business and constituted the largest single group within the clothesmaking crafts. In addition to tailors, by 1764 there were artisans more specifically identified as

"britchesmakers." These craftsmen doubtless stitched most of their work according to standard designs, but they sometimes wrote to merchants in Philadelphia to send patterns for the latest styles in fashion. Although weaving was a household art in which almost every housewife engaged, many residents of the borough worked at it to earn their livelihood; thirteen persons were engaged in this business in 1759 and twenty-four were involved at the end of the period. Stockingweaving, a more specialized craft than that engaged in by the ordinary weaver, was another important industrial activity. Between 1759 and 1770, the number of them increased from four to eleven; but the number gradually declined to only three, in 1788. Lancaster-made stockings always enjoyed a wide reputation for high quality. During the colonial non-importation movement of 1769 and 1770, large numbers of townspeople turned to the loom and spinning wheel. "Above 50,000 Yards of Homespun, Linens, and Woolens have been manufactured" in the borough, one commentator noted in the latter year, "and it is computed there are not less than 50 Looms and 700 Spinning Wheels in use" in the town. One Lancaster woman alone had "above 600 Yards to her Credit," despite the fact that she had the care of "one of the genteelest and best accommodated public houses in the borough." The importance of textile production for Lancaster is suggested by the fact that after 1769 a woolcomber and a reedmaker—the latter concerned with the manufacture of looms—were able to sustain themselves in their specialized callings.<sup>9</sup>

Closely linked to the textile trades were the bluedyers and hatmakers. The term "blue dyer" was synonymous with master dyer because changing the color of blue linen was considered to be most difficult. There was one such craftsman in 1759 and three were involved in the trade by the end of the period. Heinrich Walter, "Blau Farber," was in the borough by 1747 and announced that he was willing to "dye blue linen at one shilling per pound, and other colors for reasonable prices." Three generations of the Shaffner family practiced this skill, and the stockingweaver Lorentz Marquedant also operated a "Dyery."<sup>10</sup> Hatmaking became increasingly important in the town, artisans engaged in it growing from five in 1759 to fourteen in 1788.<sup>11</sup>

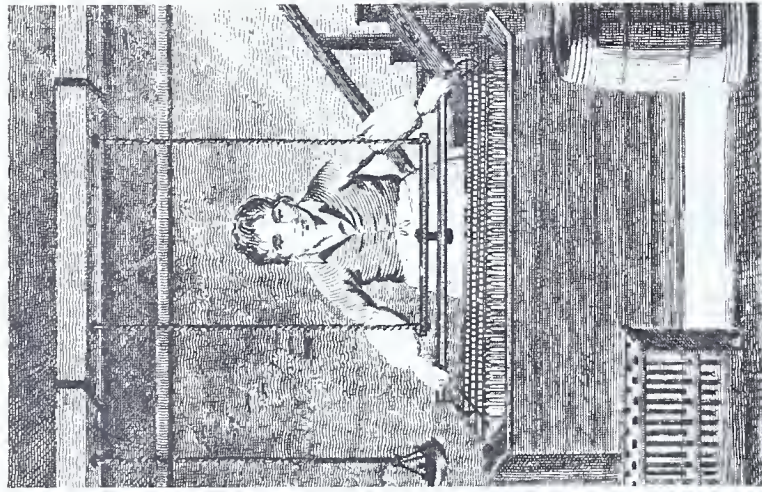
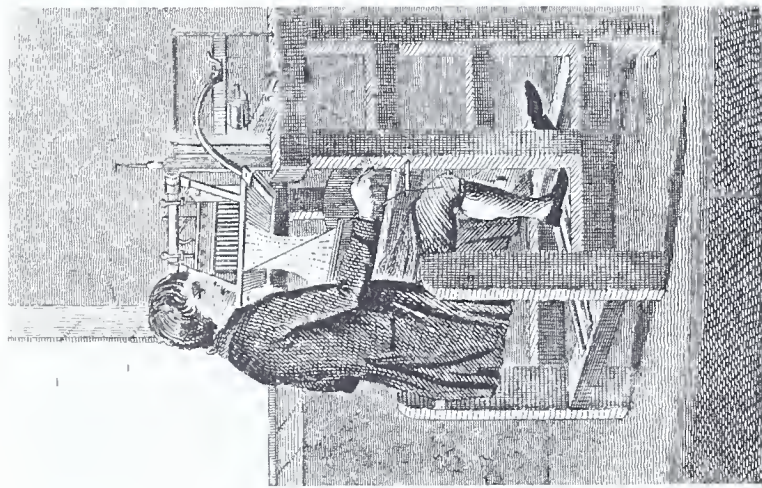
Metalworkers, specialized into twelve distinct occupations, found a ready outlet for their skills. Country folk and residents of the town in search of chisels, augers, saws, and horsebells, or with hammers to be "steeled," horses to be shod, shears and coulters to be sharpened, or wagon axles to be fitted with clamps could call upon any of at least six blacksmiths who were resident in the town in this period. There was a saddletreemaker in Lancaster as early as 1759, though saddlers could also secure metal they needed from blacksmiths such as the prosperous John Miller, who moved



### INDUSTRIOUS ARTISANS

Representative of those "laborious Handicrafts" William Penn deemed so essential to a flourishing commonwealth, the smith and the wheelwright were essential in a town so dependent upon overland transportation. From *The Book of Trades* (London, 1804).  
*Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.*





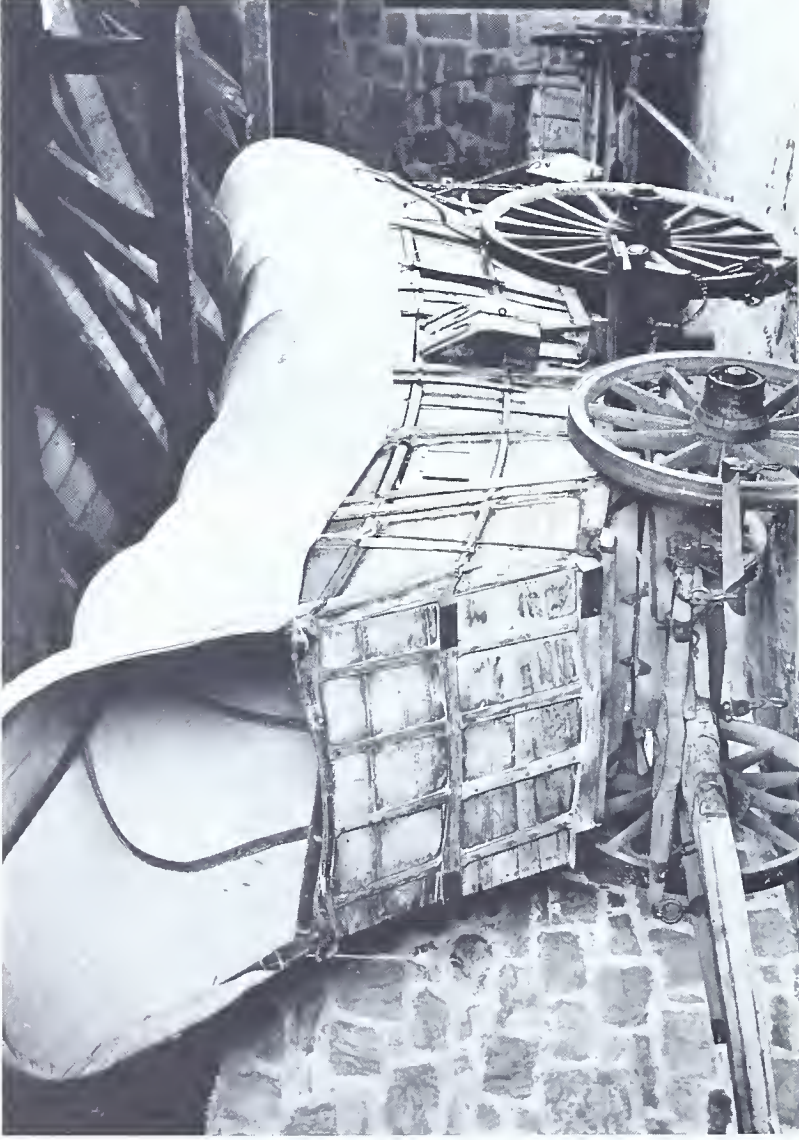
### INDUSTRIOUS ARTISANS

The textile crafts comprised about one-fifth of Lancaster's artificers. Everyone depended on the candlemaker for illumination in an age that knew not Edison. From *The Book of Trades* (London, 1804). Courtesy of the *Library Company of Philadelphia*.



#### FROM ARTIFICE TO ART

Pewter flagon (left) by Johann Christopher Heyne, a Lancaster craftsman and one of early America's foremost pewterers. *Courtesy of the Hill Evangelical Lutheran Church, Cleona.* Pewter tankard (right) by Peter Getz. *Courtesy of the Rosenbach Museum, Philadelphia.*



### THE CONESTOGA WAGON

Many "ships of inland commerce," such as this one, plied the highways to Lancaster, bringing in "country produce" for local use or for shipment to Philadelphia as well as manufactured goods from the Provincial capital or from across the Atlantic. *Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Farm Museum.*





#### THE PENNSYLVANIA RIFLE

Gunsmiths in and around Lancaster developed a new and more accurate rifle by lengthening the barrel, reducing the bore, improving the balance and—most importantly—making the ball slightly smaller than the bore so that when the missile was projected it spun.





#### A MASTER GUNSMITH AND HIS WIFE

William Henry (1729-1786), shown here with his wife Ann Wood Henry (1732-1799), was Lancaster's and early America's most famous gunsmith. A much sought-after craftsman, he refused offers to remove to Philadelphia or New York. Both portraits are by Benjamin West, whom Henry served as an early patron. *Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*

into the borough from Manor Township in the 1760's. There were also on hand metalworkers who practiced a more delicate artistry—"tinner" and "tinkers" who worked with the lighter metals. A master of the pewterer's skill was Johann Christian Heyne (pronounced Hiney), a native of Saxony, whose flagons and other pieces show an interesting mixture of English and German elements of design. Several coppersmiths turned out a variety of kettles, saucepans, coffee pots, porringers, lanterns, and other items. The most successful follower of this line of work appears to have been Francis Sanderson, who maintained a shop not only in Lancaster but also in York, Pennsylvania, across the Susquehanna. He kept both establishments going even after he moved to Baltimore around 1773.<sup>12</sup>

Of the artificers associated with the metal trades in Lancaster none was more talented nor more renowned than the gunsmith. Perhaps the first of these craftsmen to work in the town was Matthias Reasor, who was there as early as 1744. By 1770 there were five gunsmiths in the borough, and eighteen years later there were seven. Certainly the most prominent of them was William Henry, who learned his art from Reasor, and then established in Lancaster the largest gun manufactory in America. A much sought after craftsman, he rejected offers to settle in Philadelphia and New York, and remained in the borough until his death. In association with the trader Joseph Simon, Henry supplied local gunsmiths with rifle parts—hammers, cocks, "Fuzee main Springs," bridles, tumblers, and forged breeches—used by all of the gunsmiths of the town in producing the excellent Pennsylvania rifles later popularly known on the American frontier as Kentucky rifles. Drawing upon experience acquired in repairing imported firearms, these men designed a new and more accurate rifle by lengthening the barrel, reducing the bore, and improving the balance. The most important innovation, however, was making the ball slightly smaller than the bore so that when the missile, encased in a greased patch and then inserted into the lands of the weapon, was projected, it spun. This improvement permitted the rifle to be loaded more rapidly and cleaned less frequently. Demand for these pieces was great, and their Lancaster manufacturers had customers throughout America. John Henry of Lancaster (apparently not a relative of William Henry) took an assortment of his rifles, "plaine" and fancy, to New York, and then by ship to Forts Niagara and Detroit in the summer of 1773. These weapons were apparently sold to storekeepers at those trading posts. At Niagara he received £32 from "Messrs. Duffel and Stedman" for six weapons of the best and lesser quality; at Detroit he was able to vend a total of twenty-nine rifles for £210 to "Renian and Eggar," "Andrews and McDavies and Company," and "Portees and Company."<sup>13</sup>

Lancastrians successfully experimented with the manufacture of potash

(potassium carbonate). Apparently, the physician Samuel Boudé and the trader Joseph Simon broached the idea sometime around 1757. They were encouraged in their efforts by the town's proprietor, who promised to give them a lot near the brook in Water Street rent free for seven years, "at which time they will not only know whether the Scheme is likely to answer their expectations, but will also be able to suit themselves with a proper Situation for the Business." Initiative paid off in achievement; in 1767 a newspaper advertisement announced that "a large house, convenient for manufacturing pot ashes" was for sale in the borough. Forced to sell out because of his other activities, the owner promised that, upon request, he could teach the purchaser "how to make pot or pearl ash, also a different process of fluxing without kettles (a great loss in the common practice), likewise a very concise and complete method of making the salts pure which render them fluent, as well as of a far better quality." Enough wood ash could be collected within the borough during one season, he added, to make six tons of pot ash. The pot ash produced at Lancaster was useful primarily in the manufacture of soap,<sup>14</sup> and facilitated the development of "Baron" Stiegel's glassworks at Manheim.<sup>14</sup>

Some of the artisans of the town—approximately ten per cent in 1759 and eleven per cent in 1788—utilized their talents in the production and processing of food and drink. Residents of the town could secure bread and pastries from more than a half-dozen bakery shops. Seventeen butchers had established themselves in the town by 1759, and there were still sixteen on hand at the end of the period, the most prominent being the Reigart and Yeiser families, who handed down the trade through several generations. They were a saucy lot, these slaughterers, and extremely proud, moreover, of the fine cattle produced in Lancaster County—as the following item from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* suggests:

Lancaster, April 2, 1768

On Wednesday last a large Ox (raised and fed by *Mr. Isaac Waine* of Chester County), was brought to this Town (by *Mr. Singeisen*, a Butcher of *Philadelphia*) adorn'd with Ribbons, Garlands, and gilded Horns. The dumb victim was led about the Streets attended by a Crowd of Followers; and on Thursday fell a Sacrifice to the Lovers of *fat Beef*.

The Butchers of this Place (determined to support the Credit of their Shambles), and to convince us that the opulent and plentiful County of *Lancaster*, has no occasion to *import* Beef from other Places, procured immediately several fine Oxen, Natives of this County (one of which was dressed and led about in the manner already described) and on *Thursday* they were likewise all killed. Allowing for the Difference of their Ages and the Time they were kept, these Oxen far exceeded the *Chester Coun-*

ty BEHEMOTH. They were young, well-fed, exceeding fat, and weighed, upon an Average, about 800 lb. each.

This Affair has raised such an Emulation here, that our Graziers are resolved to raise and fatten, and our Butchers to kill the best and largest cattle in the Province, for the honour of *Lancaster*, long famous for plentiful Markets—So that we are likely to have glorious RIBS and RUMPS—'O *the roast Beef of Old-England and, O the Old-English roast Beef!*<sup>15</sup>

With their thick slices of fine Lancaster roast beef, the residents of the borough and its vicinity could quaff beer and "spiritous Liquors" brewed and distilled in town. In 1761, Caleb Sheward advertised for "An Apprentice in the Brewing and Malting Business," whom he promised to instruct "after the most accurate Method practised in England, the Works being erected after the most modern Improvements made use of there." When Sheward sold this establishment seven years later, it consisted of a tile-floored malt house three stories high with a "Brick cistern" and a "complete English kiln," a "brew house" ("completely calculated and works with ease") capable of brewing twenty-four barrels of liquid at once, and a "water mill which will grind 50 bushels of malt a day." Among the most distinguished artisans of the town was the "eminent brewer" Colonel John Hambright. Distilling establishments were even more plentiful than breweries. Joseph Simon—what was he *not* involved in!—produced "distill'd Liquors" in partnership with Moses Mordecai and the blacksmith John Miller, each man having a third interest in the enterprise; "Anne-seed," caraway seed, "Callamus," cinnamon, orange, "Snake Root," and "Spirits" were combined to produce what was evidently a stimulating potion.<sup>16</sup>

Although most of the artisans of Lancaster devoted their time to the manufacture of practical items for everyday use, there were some—never more than three per cent of all the artificers—who turned out luxury articles. Daniel Syng was probably the first silversmith to work in the town, arriving in 1736. He was the son of a famous Philadelphia silversmith, Philip Syng. Benjamin Price worked at this trade in the borough in 1747. Joseph Simon employed a silversmith, Daniel East, to make trinkets and other items for the Indian trade. In 1761, Simon sent some "Silver Sauce Boats" to Quebec to be sold on his account. Perhaps the most noteworthy craftsman in silver and gold was Charles Hall, the brother of Philadelphia silversmith David Hall, who arrived in Lancaster in 1760 and whose skills were engaged by the most prominent families in town.

A Lancastrian might well mark the hour with a timepiece of local manufacture. One watchmaker and two clockmakers were in the town in 1750, and there were seven such craftsmen at the end of the period. Great



expectations surely accompanied the announcement of Thomas Skidmore, "Watch Finisher from London," who promised in 1767 to make "good, sound, and neat silver watches for £12 currency," with the aid of "two regular bred workmen from England; the one a movement-maker and the other a motion-maker." Unfortunately, Skidmore soon got into a scrape with the law, and made a personal motion in jumping his bail and departing the town. John Eberman, Jr., the borough's most accomplished clock-maker, did so well at his trade that he was able to move to a larger shop on Queen Street in 1772.

An "organmaker," Rupertus Harttfels, is mentioned in the records of the Lutheran Church in 1750, but there is no evidence that he ever produced an instrument while living in Lancaster. The most distinguished colonial maker of organs, David Tanneberger, moved to the borough from the Moravian settlement at Lititz in the 1770's.<sup>17</sup>

## — II —

Significant changes took place in the structure of the craft industries in Lancaster during the period covered by this study. Manufacturing continued to be centered on household units rather than on larger establishments such as factories. Nonetheless, several shifts with respect to the relative importance of specific industrial groups reflect a new configuration which would be characteristic of the town's economy in the nineteenth century. At the time of the French and Indian War—in 1759, to be exact—artisans associated with the leather-processing industries (shoemakers, saddlers, skimmers, and tanners) were most numerous among the town's handicraftsmen (26.1 per cent of all artisans), followed respectively by those associated with the building trades (20.4 per cent), the textile processing and clothesmaking crafts (17.6 per cent), the metal-working arts (14.8 per cent), the food processing and manufacturing activities (10.4 per cent), the woodworking skills (1.6 per cent), and the luxury crafts (1.6 per cent). Thirteen years later, the position of the metal-working, food-processing, woodworking, and luxury industries remained unchanged; but the building trades assumed first place (20.8 per cent), followed by clothesmaking and textile processing (18.8 per cent), and leather-working (17.2 per cent). At the end of the period (in 1788), the relative position of the industrial groups was as follows: clothesmaking and textile processing (21.4 per cent), leather-working (17.7 per cent), metal-working (16.1 per cent), building arts (15.8 per cent), food processing (11.1 per cent), woodworking (5.2 per cent), and the luxury crafts (3.1 per cent).<sup>18</sup>

What would appear to be most noteworthy in this pattern is the rising importance of the industries associated with clothesmaking and textile production, which moved from the third position among the town's craft-

groupings in 1759, to first place in 1788. Undoubtedly, the continued growth of population in Lancaster and its region made necessary the growth of those industries associated with the manufacture of wearing apparel. Within this group of craft activities, weaving and hatmaking continuously maintained a high level of importance, the number of artisans engaged in the former increasing from fifteen in 1759 to twenty-four in 1788, with the number of artificers employed in the latter rising from five to fourteen in the same period of time. When, in the 1830's, examples of small-scale factory organization appeared in the town, they were, in fact, to be seen most notably in the area of clothesmaking and textile production, as well as in shoemaking, riflemaking, and cabinetmaking.<sup>19</sup>



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### *Good Times and Hard*

LANCASTER'S enterprising traders and industrious artificers worked ceaselessly and independently to maintain a viable family economy—if fortune so permitted—even to enrich themselves beyond the level of mere subsistence. Individual initiative was, of course, exceedingly important in this regard. But the business pursuits of particular families were shaped by economic forces which were larger and determinative in nature. Fortunately, the residents of the borough lived at a time when the long-run trend of the American economy was one of expansion—in population, productivity, and capital accumulation. Several of the town's traders and craftsmen accumulated surplus capital which they employed in the development of their region. Two wars—the French and Indian conflict and the War of American Independence—stimulated, for a while, Lancaster's economy, as well as that of the entire nation. But both wars brought in their wake depression and hard times which straitened the prosperous families and often ruined the poorer folk.

#### — II —

A shortage of currency was endemic to the American economy for most of the period under analysis. Even before the outbreak of the French and Indian War, the scarcity of a circulating medium of exchange prompted Lancaster residents to complain to the Provincial government. In the spring of 1753, "a considerable Number of the Inhabitants of the County of Lancaster" petitioned the Provincial Assembly for "a further Supply of Paper Bills of Credit." They were, explained the remonstrants, "greatly straitened for want of a sufficient Currency to carry on their necessary Affairs," and due to the shortage of money they could "neither get in their debts, nor convert their effects into cash," even though they were willing to dispose of them "greatly under value."<sup>1</sup> This deprivation of specie became worse from time to time and slowed trade in the borough. One shopkeeper informed his Philadelphia creditor, in 1754, that "our Country is much distressed for money and little Sale for anything"; this retailer noted, moreover, that he had received only about £80 during the entire month succeeding the June fair and this he disbursed "in pro[portion] to my



oldest Creditors."<sup>2</sup> During the French and Indian War, the military purchases made in the borough and paid for in sterling eased the money problem somewhat, but with the cessation of hostilities the problem recurred, becoming acute in 1763-64 and 1768-69. "Money begins to be very scarce around Lancaster," wrote one housewife to her husband in 1764; and another resident gave it as his opinion about the same time that the circulating paper money would soon be called in and "pieces of eight" — one of several foreign currencies used by the colonists to ease their specie deficiency — would be going "Home" to English countinghouses. Four years later, another townsman bemoaned "the present Scarcity of Cash" which, in conjunction with a hailstorm that destroyed a sizable portion of the fall crops, greatly depressed the commerce of Lancaster. "Trade is very dull here," one shopkeeper reported at about that time, "and as Mr. [John] Cameron receives almost all of the Cash passing, the Circulation of it is almost entirely Stopt." Once more, the people turned to the Assembly for an emission of paper money.<sup>3</sup> Even if the legislature had desired to provide relief, Parliament's Currency Act of 1764 had precluded any increase in the amount of colonial paper money.

Notwithstanding the general currency problem, a few traders and craftsmen of the town accumulated surplus capital which they employed in various ways. To their neighbors these men sometimes served as bankers, lending their money at interest and serving as mortgagers in the purchase of property. George Groff and John Hopson, very prosperous shopkeepers, made loans not only to people in the borough but in the nearby countryside.<sup>4</sup> When he bought a house in the town for £450, the brewer John Hambright paid £50 himself and borrowed the remainder from the wealthy traders Michael Gross and Ludwig Lauman. Gross, one of the most thriving people in town, always seemed to have a ready supply of cash on hand which even the most prosperous of his trading neighbors sometimes sought to borrow. Joseph Simon, for example, was "obliged to borrow £150" from Gross in 1763.<sup>5</sup> Investment in real estate proved to be a popular means of utilizing surplus capital. A number of Lancaster's businessmen were among the first lotholders — they purchased them for speculative purposes — in the new village of Manheim, which had been laid out by "Baron" William Henry Stiegel near his glassworks and designed by a Lancaster lawyer, David Stout.<sup>6</sup>

Several of the industrial enterprises in the vicinity of Lancaster were launched and sustained with capital supplied by interested businessmen of the town who, in the process of venturing their money in this manner, were not merely increasing their potential for private gain but were significantly encouraging the economic development of their region. John Barr, tavern-keeper, was one of four partners (including "Baron" Stiegel) who purchased Elizabeth Furnace on Middle Creek in 1758, though he withdrew

from the enterprise shortly thereafter.<sup>7</sup> Two years later, Michael Gross joined with Stiegel in purchasing the Tulpehocken Forge in Heidelberg Township, which they renamed Charming Forge; after a year and a half, however, Gross sold his interest to Charles and Alexander Stedman, merchants, of Philadelphia.<sup>8</sup>

Most frequently, the financial contributions made by rich Lancastrians to regional economic development were in the form of cash loans to specific enterprises. Cornwall Furnace, owned by Curtis and Peter Grubb, received amounts totaling £511.10.0 from the shopkeeper William McCord, between August, 1765, and February, 1766.<sup>9</sup> Shortly thereafter, another storekeeper, George Groff, advanced £1,530 to Elizabeth Furnace, which also received funds from Eberhart Michael and Frederick Yeiser, shopkeepers.<sup>10</sup> When Thomas and William Smith, the owners of Martic Forge, found themselves in dire financial straits in the mid-1760's, they were aided by more than a dozen residents of Lancaster including Joseph Simon, who advanced £1,074.19.0, the latter Thomas Doyle (£620), Michael Gross (£1,000), and the widow storekeeper Mary Dougherty (£17).<sup>11</sup> During the May and November court terms, 1768, the merchant John Cameron sued the owners of this forge for £1,900 and £2,400, sums which he had advanced either in goods or cash.<sup>12</sup> Along with Michael Gross, Cameron aided Hopewell Forge, lending £250 and £50, respectively, in the winter of 1769.<sup>13</sup> These actions, and the other uses of surplus capital which have already been mentioned, clearly reveal that at least some Lancastrians were very prosperous.

### — III —

Two periods of war served as a boon to the town's economy. During the French and Indian conflict, some of the larger storekeepers in town received commissions to supply the troops engaged in pacifying the frontier. The partnership of Michael Hubley and Levy Andrew Levy served as sutlers to the Royal American Regiment; Joseph Simon also acted in this capacity during the war and afterwards—when troops were posted at Fort Augusta and other western locations, or quartered in Lancaster during the winter, he and other Lancaster traders supplied them with provisions.<sup>14</sup> While the war was in progress, some shopkeepers of the borough provided cloth to be made into bags for use of the Anglo-American forces. Joseph Simon received a special commission from Colonel Henry Bouquet to make "Baggs" for the troops on his expedition. The Colonel complained, however, that Simon engaged only Lancaster people for the supply project; "If he had sent, according to my directions, the stuff to York, Carlisle, and Reading, [as well as putting some out in Lancaster,] they would have been

sooner ready, and I would not have complaints every day for Baggs at these places."<sup>15</sup>

Artisans also received contracts during the French and Indian War. Although there is no evidence which would prove it, it is more than likely that tailors in the borough were called upon to make up uniforms for the Provincial militia. Philip Lenhart, saddler, provided "Bullet Pouches" and saddlery for the troops, including the Royal Americans under Colonel Bouquet.<sup>16</sup> Blacksmiths in the town were commissioned to supply horse-shoes and nails for Bouquet in 1759, but apparently could not turn them out fast enough to please military officials.<sup>17</sup> In June, 1761, the pewterer Christian Heyne received £2.10.0 for ten "Tin Camp Kettles."<sup>18</sup> Lancaster's butchers such as Frederick Yeiser found employment as cattle drovers and slaughterers for the army.<sup>19</sup>

Military officials made special use of the talents of the town's gunsmiths, although the high prices these craftsmen set for their weapons evoked disapproving comments. "I am sorry to find the Gunsmiths of Lancaster think their Work of so much more Value than those of Philadelphia," wrote James Hamilton in 1755, "and that they are able to do no more of it." The high prices led Provincial authorities to look elsewhere for arms and occasioned some loss of business for Lancaster. Nonetheless, the town's armorers received numerous orders for rifles, and were also called upon to repair defective army weapons. William Henry served as armorer to General Braddock and later to Colonel Bouquet, a post which earned him between £400 and £500. "Sir," wrote Virginia's Colonel George Washington to the Lancaster armsmaker in 1758, "as soon as you have completed Colo. Byrd's Regiment, and Capt'n. Stewart's Troop of Light Horse with Arms, you are to set about cleaning and putting all the Virginia Arms in the best Repair you can, till further Orders." In addition to manufacturing and repairing firearms for the army, Henry made cutlasses for the officers.<sup>20</sup>

Following the French and Indian War, the depression which fell upon all of English North America pushed Lancaster's traders and artisans to the wall, though the most prosperous were able to endure the slack successfully. "All Manner of Business begins to languish," lamented one resident in 1763, "and a kind of political Lethargy and Stupefaction seems to have seiz'd the People in general. When or how these troubles will terminate, we cannot tell, but at present our Prospect appears gloomy and distressful."<sup>21</sup> Pressed by their own creditors in London, the Philadelphia merchants put increasing pressure on their inland correspondents to make speedy remittances and instituted a growing number of suits to recover the sums owned to them. In 1761, for example, Samuel Hudson, a city trader, sued the Lancaster shopkeeper Joseph Pugh for debts totalling £755.1.8.<sup>22</sup> Re-

tailers in the town, likewise, had considerable difficulty in recovering the sums due from their customers. As late as 1769, one of them noted in an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* that he had "several times" published notices urging persons who owed him money to make payment, but "such little regard" had been paid to these entreaties that he was once more—"and certainly it will be the last time"—appealing to them to discharge their obligations by November 1. Those who were still remiss by that date might expect to be sued, "without respect to persons."<sup>23</sup>

By 1770, the trade of the borough had revived, and from that time until the ending of the military struggle with Great Britain over American independence, the town enjoyed what appears to have been the highest level of business activity and prosperity ever attained in the period under study. Recognition of the fact that the borough was "a principal Place of Commerce" in Pennsylvania, and that its continued success was dependent upon the maintenance of good roads linking it to the east and the west, brought increased expressions of concern for the condition of the highways. Philadelphians and Lancastrians were instrumental in obtaining from the Governor and Council in 1770 an order for a new road, sixty feet wide, to be laid out between the borough and the capital city. The Rev. Thomas Barton, rector of the Anglican parish, was among the most active campaigners in town for the improvement of the roads on which Lancaster's trade depended. In 1772, he published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* some "Observations upon Public Roads and Proposals for a Kind of Turnpike from Wright's Ferry on Susquehannah to Philadelphia." Barton had the pleasure, so he told Thomas Penn in the following year, to find that his suggestions were well received. "The Amendment of our public *Roads* and an *Inland Navigation*," he added, "very much engage the Attention of the People here at present. Whenever they are able practically to pursue Measures for these Purposes, Pennsylvania will literally become a happier Land than even that described in the 8th Chap. of Deuteronomy."

Along with the renewed interest they exhibited in the condition of the public roads linking the hinterland with Lancaster and the east, local promoters directed some attention toward the possibility of making the Susquehanna River navigable, a project in which the leading traders in Lancaster were much interested. "A Subscription is now on Foot here," Barton informed Thomas Penn in April, 1773, "for making Susquehannah navigable for large Boats, which will undoubtedly succeed; this little Town alone having subscribed no less than £500. This Scheme will greatly promote the Prosperity of the Back Country in particular, and the Reputation and Commerce of the Province in general."<sup>24</sup>

In part, this display of concern for the improvement of inland transportation was activated by the challenge posed by the rising port of Balti-



more to Philadelphia's economic control of the hinterland. Indeed, in a petition sent from Lancaster to the Pennsylvania Assembly in January, 1772, the signers pointed out that as a result of the poor condition of existing roads and the high cost of haulage, "a great Part of the Produce [of the back country] is already lost to the City of *Philadelphia*, and carried to the Town of *Baltimore*, to the great increase of the Trade and Wealth of that Place, and the Injury and Loss of the Merchants, Manufacturers, Tradesmen, and Labourers of this Province, and more particularly of the City . . . ." <sup>25</sup> Of course, anything that hurt the trade of the metropolis simultaneously injured the commercial interests of the borough, as the origin of the petition suggests. Although the evidence on this point is hard to come by, it is hardly to be doubted that the rise of the port on the Patapsco robbed Lancaster of some of its trading area, since Baltimore was in an especially advantageous location for drawing unto itself the agricultural produce of farmers situated on the west side of the Susquehanna. Although the borough's commercial ties were always more strongly with Philadelphia, there were some business contacts between it and Maryland's growing entrepot.

#### — IV —

With the commencement of the War of American Independence, as Lancaster again became an important center of military activities, its traders and artisans made profits by supplying the State and Continental governments with the materials for waging war. Owing to the abundance and importance of the resources located in the town and its vicinity, some of the town's businessmen received commissions as procuring agents for the Continental Board of War and the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. But the economy of the borough, like that of the country at large, behaved erratically in war; commodities grew scarcer on the shelves of the town's stores, and this, plus the rapid decline in value of the paper money issued by the national and State governments, produced skyrocketing prices and the tenuous economy associated with rampant inflation. As a result, most of the businessmen in the borough witnessed a slowdown in their trade, and found themselves subjected to an unprecedented degree of regulation by government.

Even before the outbreak of the war, the running argument between England and the colonial assemblies, and the uncertainties as to what course of action each side might pursue, adversely affected the town's economy. Rumours that the Americans might announce a cessation of trade with England engendered a fall in commercial rents within the borough. Moreover, businessmen there were especially anxious to keep up

with the latest developments, in order that they might import large stocks of commodities prior to any halt in commerce between the colonies and the mother country. "I would be glad to know how you think the Boston affair will turn out," the trader Charles Hamilton wrote to his friend John Mitchell shortly after the passage of the Coercive Acts, "and whether it is the Opinion of the People that there will be a non Importation agreement." Hamilton personally feared that "the trade of America" would be ruined by any such scheme, and he importuned Mitchell to inform him "as soon as a non Importation agreement is likely to be entered into, as I would immediately send to my Correspondents in England to Send a Spring assortment with the Fall goods ordered." Trade did not take a back seat to politics in the thinking of this storekeeper. When the Continental Congress did promulgate the Association, Hamilton actually faced some consternation with regard to the orders he had already placed in England; he informed Mitchell that he was "really in great uneasiness about mine," especially on the score of whether or not to countermand his orders and in what manner. More likely than not, other traders in the borough who were low in inventories moved promptly to procure as much merchandise as their Philadelphia correspondents would send up in the face of assured scarcities.<sup>26</sup>

Other businessmen, too, found it hard to reconcile their loyalties to the American cause with their desire to make money. In line with the austerity measures suggested by the Continental Congress, the Committee of Correspondence for Lancaster County attempted to discourage the use of tea. "But there's been trouble recently," they reported to the Philadelphia committee in March, 1776. Some of the traders in the capital city allegedly induced "a Number of our dealers here" to think that there were no restrictions on the sale of tea. "Several of our Traders" consequently began to purchase small quantities of the item and to retail it in the borough; immediately, storekeepers who had no tea complained that they were being taken advantage of. The county Committee of Correspondence then ordered that all sales of tea be stopped until they could check with their Philadelphia counterparts in policy, since they "hardly knew what to do. It is said that tea is sold openly in Philadelphia. Our Shopkeepers entertain that idea," and think that prohibiting their sales gives their competitors an advantage "which is not reasonable."<sup>27</sup>

When the war came, Lancaster's commercial and industrial enterprises were adapted for military purpose. Soon after the first shots were fired at Lexington and Concord, the Pennsylvania Assembly ordered the gunsmiths of the borough and the county of Lancaster to begin making fire-arms. When the craftsmen showed themselves to be somewhat dilatory in this regard, the county committee of safety reacted quickly and sternly,

threatening that any gunsmiths refusing to work for the government in producing firelocks and bayonets within two weeks after application was made to them to do so would be noted publicly as "enemies to their country," would have their tools confiscated, be denied the right to engage in their calling until they agreed to work for the State, and would not be permitted to leave their place of residence until the work was completed. "With some Difficulty," the committee had managed by March, 1776, to make contracts with the armsmakers of Lancaster for the manufacture of muskets, bayonets, and "Steel Raminers."<sup>28</sup> The "Difficulty" encountered by the committee, and the reason for their stipulation that any weapons made in Lancaster should be "at Philadelphia prices," stemmed from the fact that the western gunsmiths charged more for their products than their counterparts in the capital. The prices of Lancaster armaments rose quickly, much to the dismay of State authorities. President Thomas Wharton learned in 1777 that the gunsmiths of the borough and the county "in a General way hold out [for] from £8.15s. to £9 for Musquetts and Bayonet; Shocking prices!" The inland gunsmiths noted in their defense that they could make their weapons on the same terms as the armsmakers of Philadelphia "provided they could procure Materials at the same rate . . . ." To sustain a steady flow of arms from the gun manufactories of the county, the Committee of Safety advised the State promptly to pay the artisans for their completed work. "Their Situations in Life are such as indispensably to demand their [money] when they have completed their Work." "Our Gun Smiths particularly feel the want of Cash," the committee added, "as we have precluded them (or attempted to) from all other Work until the Public necessities are supplied."<sup>29</sup>

Especially desired by the State and Continental armies were the renowned Lancaster rifles that proved so deadly in the hands of American sharpshooters during the war. In the spring of 1776, the armsmakers of the town agreed to supply the State with such weapons at a rate of output dependent upon the size of each craftsman's establishment. The production of rifles, however, was always subsidiary to the fabrication of muskets; indeed, at the time when it made its agreement with the armorers in 1776, the Committee of Safety expressed the precaution "that our Gun Smiths, even while they are making of Rifles, should [not] altogether throw aside the Musket-Business."<sup>30</sup> William Henry, Lancaster's master gunsmith, was appointed Armourer to the Continental Army in 1778. General Washington informed the Board of War in May of that year that he was "exceedingly glad to hear that so active a Man as Mr. Henry is universally represented to be, has succeeded . . . [to] the Armourer's department, which has been long shamefully conducted." An indication of the kinds of weapons produced by Henry during his employment for the Continental

Army can be gained from a letter sent to him by General Anthony Wayne, requesting that the First and Second Pennsylvania brigades be supplied with bayonets ("at least Eighteen Inches long in the Blade, and strong at the turn or Shank"), and 180 "*Spantoons*" (i.e. spontoons or short pikes or halberds) for the officers—"neatly made and about 8 feet long." "These kind of Arms are to be introduced for Officers in place of Muskets or *Fusees*," Wayne added, "and I am Confident they will have a good Effect." Henry also manufactured cartridge boxes and, like the other gunsmiths in the town and the country, repaired old or damaged arms.<sup>31</sup>

The artisans of Lancaster worked at the production of other "Military Accoutrements." The abundant supply of hides within close proximity to the borough enabled the tanners and shoemakers to satisfy the orders they received from the State and Continental governments. The tanner Jacob Krug, supplied with hides by the local Commissary of Hides, turned them into leather and shoes; he was also employed by the national government as a currier of leather, and according to an account of 1786, was still due £92.4.6 for his wartime services. The upper, harness, and sole leather made for the United States in the course of the war by Michael Musser, another of the town's tanners, was valued at £106.7.0. In 1780, the Board of War appointed William Henry, already serving as Armourer to the national army, commissary of hides at Lancaster.<sup>32</sup> The making of uniforms for militiamen and regulars engaged the tailors of the borough in another important wartime activity. That the "principal Store" of the clothier general of the Continental forces was established at Lancaster gives ample testimony to the importance of the town and its region in the processing of textiles and the manufacture of wearing apparel. Further impetus to this aspect of wartime production was provided by the decision of Congress in January, 1778, that each state should endeavor to supply the clothing and other necessities for its own soldiers; in response to this order, the State of Pennsylvania brought large quantities of woollens to the borough from time to time to be made into uniforms. One resident of the town noted in his diary near the end of December, 1777, that there had recently been sent from Lancaster to Valley Forge 150 dozen pairs of stockings, 1,900 pairs of men's shoes, and 1,500 pairs of leather britches; moreover, a large number of coats, jackets, and shirts were "getting forward so as to be down by New Years day at head Quarters." In November, 1782, the latter George Graff received £82.10.0 in specie for 150 hats which he made for General Moses Hazen's Regiment.<sup>33</sup> There were complaints about the high cost of the clothing made in Lancaster, and these brought about some loss of business to the town's tailors.<sup>34</sup>

Other businessmen and artisans of Lancaster contributed to the war effort in special ways. Lancaster saltpeter, produced at a works owned



jointly by the merchant Paul Zantzinger and Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn, was utilized in the manufacture of ammunition. Tinsmiths such as Christian Heyne, Casper Fordney, and Nicholas Miller made canteens for the riflemen and other soldiers. Coopers turned out hogsheads and other wooden containers. Henry Eberle, blacksmith, received £1,358.15.0 in 1780 for making 276 files, the sum undoubtedly being paid in depreciated paper currency. The town's butchers and bakers were "much Employed for the Millitia," and a "good Drum maker" of the town plied his craft in the patriot cause. Innkeepers and storekeepers "entertained" and supplied provisions to the troops throughout the war.<sup>35</sup> Several of the larger merchants of the town held special army contracts as procurers and distributors of food and military matériel which they secured in the area roundabout Lancaster. The partnership of Ludwig Lauman and Bernard Hubley was subcontractor to Philadelphia merchants commissioned to outfit the Continental Army; that is, until the Lancaster traders—in the opinion of the contractors—"thought it prudent to follow Private speculators in unnecessarily raising the Prices [of clothing and the other items procured] beyond reason and to the evident loss of the Public and injury to the Cause." When, during the winter of Valley Forge, several of the "general Officers" of the Continental Army were allowed by the Board of War to employ agents to locate clothing "in different parts of the country," General Anthony Wayne engaged as one of his agents the Lancaster trader Paul Zantzinger, who, working through local tailors, supplied him by April, 1778, with "about five hundred and fifty coats, two hundred waistcoats, three hundred and eighty pairs of breeches and an equal number of stockings, about one hundred pair of shoes and several hundred hats."<sup>36</sup>

A few Lancaster businessmen, including the partnerships of Simon and Henry and Simon and Levy, as well as Paul Zantzinger, procured and sold firearms and ammunition to the national and State armies.<sup>37</sup> Matthias Slough, who gave up his White Swan tavern in 1776 but continued to operate his general store, purchased cattle, grain, and "small Beer" for the Deputy Commissary General of Supplies for the Continental Army; he also served as an agent under Robert Morris in securing flour for the use of the French fleet engaged in the war on behalf of the American revolutionaries, and was later employed by the French government as a procurer of horses. Food and other provisions for the prisoners of war confined in Lancaster were provided locally by Joseph Simon, who acted as a subagent to David Franks, his longtime Philadelphia correspondent who was commissioned by Congress to supply all prisoners of war in the region of the middle states. Simon provided similar services for the prisoners lodged at York, Carlisle, Middletown, Lebanon, and Reading in Pennsylvania, as well as those at Hagerstown, Frederick, and Sharpsburg in Maryland.<sup>38</sup>

Throughout the war, economic conditions within the borough remained unstable. Although the burgeoning wartime population enlarged somewhat the local market for Lancaster's businessmen, commodities were not as readily available as before. This increased prices and the value of money steadily depreciated. In 1776, the annual fairs were temporarily abolished for the duration of the conflict despite the objections of artisans and traders who complained that such action would not only diminish the circulation of money, but would be "injurious to a large number of the inhabitants of the borough and county," to the "Mechanics," who always found at the fairs "a sure and ready sale for the various productions of their skill and industry," and to the poorer class of residents in town and country for whom the fairs provided a market "for the smaller Articles, the production of their several callings, which would not be easily Vended at any other time or place."<sup>39</sup> The larger traders of the borough enjoyed an advantage over the smaller in maintaining their business, as Edward Shippen noted in writing to his brother in October, 1778, that "Merchandising and Shopkeeping are very precarious at present, but the latter carried on by Mr. Zantzing and a few more go on pretty well." Thomas Anburey received a gloomier impression when he arrived in Lancaster in the same year, however. "It is really a distressing circumstance," he noted, "to see such a populous, and no doubt, flourishing town, once a scene of bustling industry, now in a state of supineness, the shopkeepers lolling and smoking at their doors; the shops which [once] were overflowing with [all] sorts of commodities, scarcely contain more than Shakespeare's Apothecary's 'a beggarly account of empty boxes,' useless indeed . . . ." <sup>40</sup>

The residents and traders of the borough reaped a certain advantage from the fact that their town was located between the ports of Baltimore and Philadelphia, which supplied the shops "pretty well" during the war, in at least one townsman's opinion. Nonetheless, there were shortages of various commodities from time to time. As early as October, 1776, Sarah Yeates informed her husband, Jasper, that "there is no white sugar in Town. Coffee is only at one Place," and coarse callico which usually sold at 2s.9d. per ell then cost 10s. for the same measure. Christian Wertz, the town major, wrote the President of the State, Thomas Wharton, in early 1777 that the demand for salt in the town was "pressing"; the prisoners of war had not been supplied any for a long time, and—what was even worse—there was not even the smallest quantity to provide the militia who were "daily marching thro' this place." Since most of the meat handled by the butchers was designated for the troops engaged in combat, the town experienced a shortage of that item by the spring of 1781. A contributing cause to the shortages of produce felt in the borough in the early stages of the war was the fact that farmers and other persons living in the vicinity of

the town were loath to bring in anything to be sold in the market for fear that their wagons might be commandeered: but this situation was alleviated in November, 1777, when the Council of Safety resolved "that no wagons or horses bringing wood or provisions" to Lancaster would be "seized or liable to be impressed, coming to or going from market."<sup>41</sup> With the former channels of Anglo-American trade closed by the war, Lancastrians found the shelves of the local storekeepers displaying French and other foreign commodities. From "Bordeaux and St. Eustatius" came the items offered for sale in May, 1778, by George Douglass, including the "Best Cognac Brandy," aged "Jamaica Spirits," Bohea and green tea, coffee, Cartun and Holland cloth, paper, men's shoes and pumps, nuts, spices, and an assortment of medicinal goods. Unfortunately for the merchants who carried them, however, the French wares were reportedly "not so Saleable as English Manufactory," which Levy Andrew Levy confessed to his correspondent Michael Gratz.<sup>42</sup>

When commodities could be procured for sale, rife competition among the Lancaster traders ensued. Moreover, the native dealers had to contend with at least a half-dozen Philadelphia storekeepers and artisans who set up for business in the borough during Lord Howe's occupation of the capital. Benjamin Harbeson, "from Philadelphia," opened a coppersmith's shop in July, 1777, and sold his wares "either for hard Money or for Loan Office Certificates." Given the scarcity of items, each shopkeeper who was able to secure them — and sometimes he had to go personally to Baltimore or to Philadelphia to get what he wanted — was quick to apprise his neighbors of the fact, especially when he possessed a critically scarce commodity. Laurence Herbert and John Carnan, apparently interlopers from Philadelphia, advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for January 21, 1778, shipments of salt which each had just received. A few months later, Levy Marks, who also made his first appearance in the borough during the war, announced that he had on hand "Liverpool Salt of the best quality, by wholesale or retail," as well as other dry goods. To keep themselves going during the war years, several of the artisans of the town retailed small quantities of "shop goods" in addition to carrying on their regular industries; John Fisher, brushmaker, sold raisins, lamp black, rosin, powder, and shot.<sup>43</sup>

Trading and other business activities were carried on in the midst of rampant inflation. "House Rent is very high, viz. five or Six hundred a Year," Edward Shippen informed a friend in November, 1779, "furniture at 20 or 30 prices, and everything else in Proportion." To illustrate the extent to which businessmen in the town discounted the Continental currency, Christopher Marshall noted that at a vendue in 1780 a frying pan

cost £25, a saw £37.10.0, a "common razor without a case with hones for setting" £20, a pair of common eyeglasses in a case £19, and a walnut eight-day clock with a face eleven inches square £210. The prices were so extravagant," he added, "that I told them it was high time for a Bedlam to be built in Lancaster." The officials of the German Reformed church, hoping to stem the wonder of an incredulous posterity, noted in the church records that on account of scarcities the cost of living ("Theurung") was so high in 1777 and 1778 that the expenses of the congregation doubled, tripled, and in some cases increased ten-fold!<sup>44</sup>

Rising costs, and the claims that certain merchants were deliberately discounting the Continental money, and the State currency, by charging higher prices, led to price regulations and restrictions on the sale of certain commodities within the borough. At a town meeting held on June 11, 1779, the inhabitants established a committee "to Settle prices of Eatables (excepting flesh and vegetable) on a Similar plann with Philada.," and as there had been complaints "respecting of hard money," those in attendance at the meeting agreed to look into that matter as well.<sup>45</sup> Even the minimal price regulations established did not work very well. President Joseph Reed learned in 1779 that despite the price limitations on such items as wheat and flour, persons making purchases in Lancaster on behalf of the State or Continental governments "found it an impossibility to procure the necessary supplies, at the regulated prices." They were, thus, obliged to pay more "or starve the army." At least one Lancaster shopkeeper, John Hopson, who was himself a member of the committee on prices, was summoned before the body for exceeding the set charge on coffee. The trader "freely confessed the fact" and said that he would sell no more of that commodity unless he could do so on his own terms, a position which—according to at least one member—"satisfied the committee" that Hopson "was no more a friend to the country than his interest led him, that being his ruling passion (its said)."<sup>46</sup> The committee which regulated prices also enforced a rule requiring that anyone selling, or buying elsewhere for sale, in the borough secure a permit to do so. Apparently, the licenses were issued only to such persons as could prove that they had taken the oath of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania. It appears, however, that the licensing requirement worked no better than the price regulation system. A resident of the town noted in March, 1778, that "Great assortments of Sundry goods [were] brot into this place a few days past from Several places, the persons paying no regard to the law requiring them to take out permits for selling &c."<sup>47</sup>

A major scandal developed when public reports announced that goods from the British warehouse established at Lancaster for the supply of pris-



oners of war there were being sold to Americans. William Henry informed the Supreme Executive Council that some of the British commodities were "procured at the Store by the prisoners and then hawked about the town and county and sold to the inhabitants. This money, of course, centers in [the British] store . . . ." There were serious rumours that at least two Lancastrians in charge of supplying the prisoners were speculating in British commodities, apparently buying wine and other items cheaply at the warehouse, and selling them "at an enormous profit" in their own stores. Ordered by the Council of Safety to seize the goods and records in the British Commissary's possession, Henry found that there was in his ledger "not a Single charge against any of the shopkeepers in town . . . Except against Mr. [William] Wertz, who I [suppose] to be [the] Commissary of Prisoners." Henry noted, correctly enough, that any transactions between local merchants and the British commissary would most likely be covered up. The Hubley family was among those implicated in the scandal; and in a memorandum to the Council of Safety Henry reported that "the people are threatened by the H[ub]ley family with Law suits, Club law, cutting off ears, Riding on their noses &c." "Old Squire Hubley," he added, "has for some time Past told the People that the Speculating Horse"—an allusion to a newspaper article indirectly revealing the misdeeds—"would kick some of them in the face if they did not hold their tongues." When it was revealed that the tanner John Musser carried on "a clandestine and dishonorable trade with the British Store," and that there was a "large quantity of Goods packed up in flour Casks in his house or possession," the Supreme Executive Council ordered an attachment upon Musser's property. "Every endeavor ought to be made to stop this ruinous trade," the Council stipulated. Before it died down, the scandal produced fisticuffs between members of the Wertz and Hubley families and other residents of the town.<sup>48</sup>

As the "Continentials" and the notes issued by the State government steadily depreciated—a major cause of the rampant inflation—there were more and more reports that certain businessmen in Lancaster hastened the process by deliberately discounting American paper money or, in some cases, by refusing to accept it altogether. "To such a low state is got the credit of Congress money," Major Thomas Hughes, the British prisoner of war, noted in his journal, "that our messman says he can provide us no longer, though we pay him weekly 50 pounds each—for dinner alone, without drink." A visitor in Lancaster in June, 1777, informed a friend that he perceived "every means of Depreciating the paper currency of the States, . . . and Torryism holding up its head with impunity. A Doubloon was sold yesterday to a certain Paul Zantzinger for £30. A half Joe sells at between £15 and £20, a Guinea for £6 and upwards, and a Dollar for up-

wards of £1.10s. Depreciating is really become a trade here, and even the friends of Liberty are induced, nay almost Necessitated, to adopt the Base measure.”<sup>49</sup> Specific individuals were implicated in the charges of depreciating. The attorney William Atlee received information that the “principal hands” in the business were John Musser, William Wertz, and the trader Ludwig Lauman. These men reportedly discounted Continental currency by twenty-five per cent, and would not take it in payment for commodities purchased from them without that allowance. As confidence in the national currency declined, butchers, bakers, and farmers began to refuse it entirely in payment for their goods and services. Further scandal erupted when letters between Owen Jones, one of the Philadelphia Quakers of suspect loyalty confined by the State of Pennsylvania in Winchester, Virginia, and John Musser, Matthias Slough, and Matthias Graff, hatter, of the borough, were intercepted, found to relate to a depreciation scheme, and were then turned over to the Supreme Executive Council.<sup>50</sup> When the Pennsylvania Assembly authorized the emission of £200,000 in bills of credit in 1781, and declared the money to be legal tender, some residents of the borough, including Paul Zantzinger and Joseph Simon, merchants, and William Henry, the gunsmith, complained in a petition that this money depreciated as rapidly as the Continentals; thus, many “honest Creditors” were cheated when they were paid in this medium, “widows and orphans whose property consisted of outstanding debts have been greatly injured,” and “individuals intent upon committing “frauds” were rushing to pay off their old debts with depreciated currency. In light of this, the remonstrants asked for a repeal of the legislation making the new bills of credit legal tender.<sup>51</sup>

The certificates issued to soldiers by the national and State governments in lieu of specie payment plummeted in worth as rapidly as the paper money, and speculators, including some of the businessmen of Lancaster, bought them at less than face value. “The Soldiers are Selling their Certificates to the shopkeepers and others for less than half their Value,” William Henry informed the President of Pennsylvania in 1781; “a Soldier would rather have a Shilling in his Pocket than twenty to Receive in future.” With the value of paper money and certificates always falling, individual families hoarded whatever specie they could accumulate. In 1781, when a business associate of the lawyer Jasper Yeates asked him if it might be possible to borrow £500 or £600 in gold at Lancaster, the latter discouraged the attempt. “Gold is far from being general in this Part of the Government,” he noted, and added that “it would require an Angel to prevail on most of our Farmers to lend out their hard Money, after what has already happened.”<sup>52</sup>

## — V —

The economic uncertainty and hard times which fell upon the nation after the war were felt in Lancaster. Several indices point to the slowdown of trade in the borough during the 1780's. For one thing, there were noticeably fewer advertisements by Lancaster businessmen in the newspapers. Several artisans and storekeepers, moreover, left the town for better prospects in Philadelphia or elsewhere. "Trade is so amazing dull with us" became the virtually universal lamentation. One Lancaster trader informed a relative in 1787 that the sales in a friend's store "have been remarkably dull, and the Debts due to it impossible to be collected at this Season, when every person complains of the great Scarcity of Cash."<sup>53</sup> The diminution of specie was, indeed, a factor aggravating the general economic malaise; and the rapid depreciation of American paper currency encouraged a reversion to the previous widespread use of foreign coins.<sup>54</sup> The money problem was especially acute during 1787 and the several years immediately following.

In the depression several businessmen were ruined. Matthias Slough, formerly proprietor of the White Swan Inn, storekeeper, owner of a grist-mill, and part owner of Martic Furnace and Forge, was forced into bankruptcy in June, 1787; Slough did manage, however, to reopen the inn "in his well-known house in Lancaster." The merchant Charles Hamilton was apparently also bankrupt; one resident of the borough noted in 1789 that Hamilton "does nothing since he has vanished off the Stage as a lame Duck. He has no property whatever that I know of." The creditors of Jacob Zanck, tanner, foreclosed on the mortgage for his tanyard and other properties in 1788, Zanck "being a bankrupt" at that time.<sup>55</sup>

Though most of the Lancaster artisans and storekeepers survived the period of economic constriction, some of them — even the most prosperous ones — were pressed severely. Dr. Henry Stuber, apothecary, owed a sizable sum of money to Townsend Speakman of Philadelphia in 1783; the debt had been contracted before the War for Independence, and although the creditor was "far from having any ill Will" toward Stuber, he nonetheless threatened legal action if the obligation was not soon met. The threat of prosecution truly frightened the druggist, who informed Speakman that should this transpire "he must go to Gaol and be irretrievably ruined." Jacob Stofft, innkeeper, who in 1778 was still outstanding for the major part of a £300 debt owed to Wager and Habacker of Philadelphia, received notice of a suit by his creditors. The widow of Christopher Breidenhart, another innkeeper, was still obligated in 1787 to Benjamin Swett of Philadelphia for a debt contracted by her husband, but Swett agreed

that if sufficient security could be posted for the debt he would be lenient. Even such a previously thriving businessman as Joseph Simon was threatened with court action to recover debts which he owed to his creditors; Robert Milligan agreed to give him more time in October, 1787, but added that "Mr. Moses Franks and myself have consulted together and concur that no Paper Money can be received in discharge of this debt."<sup>56</sup>

Several of Lancaster's artisans and shopkeepers left the town following the war for larger and—in their expectation—more profitable communities. The butchers Englehard and Frederick Yeiser went to the rising port of Baltimore. Christian Wertz, formerly a prospering tailor, George Bickham, a trader and a former burgess, and Casper Singer and sons, tanners, all moved to Philadelphia. From their new situations, these Lancastrians maintained personal and commercial connections with their old rivals and neighbors. When Samuel Boyd and Company of Lancaster advertised their "American Whetstone" in 1788, they announced that it was available from the Yeisers in Baltimore, and from Wertz, Bickham, and the Singers in the Pennsylvania capital.<sup>57</sup>

Despite the generally unfavorable economic circumstances, some persons did commence new retailing and wholesaling ventures in the town after the war. The available evidence suggests, however, that these enterprises were undertaken as partnerships rather than an individual proprietorships. Responding to an inquiry from Joseph Shippen, Jr., of Philadelphia, in 1785, the attorney Jasper Yeates expressed the opinion that "you could very well succeed in the dry Goods business at Lancaster if you had a proper Situation for it"; Yeates was so certain of this, indeed, that he offered "gladly" to join Shippen in such a project. Soon thereafter, the partnership of Shippen and Funk—there is no evidence that Yeates had an interest in the business—opened a new store; and although the venture initially bid fair to succeed it was discontinued after about two years. Dr. Jacob Rieger and Company announced a new "Medicinal Drug Store" in 1783, and in the following year Joseph Simon formed a partnership in trade with Solomon Etting.<sup>58</sup>

## –VI–

As the agricultural frontier moved farther westward, and new towns such as Carlisle and Pittsburgh arose to serve the needs of those pioneers who had crossed the Alleghenies, Lancaster's role as a back-country emporium diminished.<sup>59</sup> The businessmen of the town seem to have been aware of what was happening and expressed understandable alarm when, in 1784, the decision was made to divide Lancaster County for the purpose of creating a new county to the northwest (Dauphin). "The people of Middletown and the Vicinity," wrote James Burd to Jasper Yeates, "have



been advised that . . . the New County Town is to be at John Harris's Ferry [Harrisburg]. (If so) they think it will prove very hurtful to the County in Genl. and particularly to the Borough of Lancaster, and Town of Middletown and that Communication. If the County Town should be fixed at Harris's, the whole Trade of the Back County's by the River will be carried from Harris's directly [to Philadelphia] via Reading." The people of Middletown were angling to have their community designated as the new seat, and solicited the aid of Lancaster's businessmen to that end.<sup>60</sup> Although the new seat was placed at Harrisburg, there is no evidence as to the effect this had on Lancaster's trade with the western regions. The building of the Lancaster-Philadelphia turnpike (completed in 1794), the first such highway in the nation, attests to the great volume of trade passing between the borough and the eastern port. By the end of the Confederation period the little city was primarily a regional marketing and manufacturing center. A visitor to the borough in the 1790's reported that its artisans plied their trades "principally for the town and the neighborhood." But the demands of western settlers, hunters, and inland traders in every part of the nation for firearms and saddlery, in particular, continued to provide a wide market for these Lancaster products at least.

Location, a special quality in the people, a rich agricultural environment, an expanding frontier population, and convenient roads to market—these were the essential factors in the economic development of Lancaster, making it both a regional trading center and, during the first half-century or more of its existence, a back-country emporium as well. The extent of diversification in its commercial and industrial life, moreover, was an additional hallmark of an urban community; and this material base underlay and helped to define the evolving social structure.

PART THREE

One Town,  
Several Communities



## CHAPTER EIGHT

# *Principal Inhabitants And Others*

IN ITS composition, the population of Lancaster borough reflected the demographic variety characteristic of Pennsylvania as a whole. The town was “mostly inhabited by Dutch people,” as more than one visitor described the German-speaking majority, who comprised approximately sixty-seven per cent of the families in 1759 and about sixty-three per cent thirty years later. <sup>1</sup> British people—English and Scotch-Irish—constituted the largest minority ethnic group, but there were other ethnic and national groups as well. Not all of the German-speaking inhabitants came from Germany; some were “Swissers,” natives of the German-language cantons of Switzerland. A few French-speaking families, related to Canadian Indian traders active in the Pennsylvania back country before the French and Indian War, settled in the town.<sup>2</sup> Negroes, most of whom were slaves, added yet another distinctive element to the population.

### — II —

Whatever their background, the residents of the borough were accustomed to a world of inequalities among men: some were rich, some middling, some poor; some were free, while others—as apprentices, indentured servants or slaves—were bound to serve other men. In the very condition of their lives and work Lancastrians did not enjoy the same status. Most of the men of the town were freemen who called no man master, and the heads of families among them contributed to the work of the community in various ways. Between 1759 and 1789, the number engaged in trading and inn-keeping fluctuated between ten and fourteen per cent of the heads of families whose occupations are known. The artisans, who comprised the largest occupational category, fluctuated between sixty and

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seventy-one per cent of the heads of families in the same thirty-year period. Laborers and wagoners, the former earning their livelihoods through day labor (including farmwork), constituted a group varying from between eleven and twenty per cent of the heads of families whose occupations can be determined. Not numerous but accorded high status as individuals and because of their callings were the professional men of the community—lawyers, court officials, teachers, physicians, and ministers—who represented four per cent of the heads of families whose occupations are listed for 1759 and five per cent at the end of the period.

TABLE 8-1<sup>3</sup>

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES IN LANCASTER, 1759-1788			
	1759	1773	1788
Total Heads of Families	474	507	626
Total Occupations Listed	420	410	553
Artisans	254 (60.4%)	293 (71.4%)	337 (60.9%)
Laborers and Wagoners	87 (20.7%)	47 (11.4%)	103 (18.6%)
Commercial	59 (14.0%)	57 (13.9%)	58 (10.4%)
Professional	20 (4.7%)	13 (3.0%)	28 (5.0%)
"Gentleman"			27 (4.8%)

Some of these free men of Lancaster maintained indentured servants within their households. As early as 1744, Roger Connor, hatter, advertised the absence of an Irish servant, "by trade a hatter."<sup>4</sup> In 1754 there were fifty-five indentured servants in the borough, owned by thirty-seven individuals; in 1788 there were nineteen such workers kept by seventeen townsmen.<sup>5</sup> Most of the people who possessed servants of this type were shopkeepers and craftsmen who used them as apprentices or domestics. Usually, they bought them through Philadelphia merchants or else from masters who wished to sell the remainder of a servant's time. In 1787, for example, E. Dutilh and Company of Philadelphia advertised in a Lancaster newspaper that they had on hand "A number of German passengers from Rotterdam. . . . They comprise a number of lusty young people, and are, with the exception of a few families, unmarried. Among them are farmers, tanners, shoemakers, coopers, domestics [Zimmerleuten], carpenters, bakers, smiths, etc."<sup>6</sup>

The majority of indentured workers in Lancaster were German-speaking immigrants, who in return for having their passage to Pennsylvania paid for them agreed to "work out" the fare through voluntary servitude for a stipulated period of time. Most of them were fortunate enough to survive the rough Atlantic crossing; following their period of service, they pursued

their destinies as free people. Some of them, however, were not so lucky. Dorothea Seitzin, an immigrant servantwoman whose husband died shortly after disembarking at Philadelphia, succumbed herself a few days after arriving in Lancaster. Often in the course of passage and subsequent assignment to a master, families become separated. Martin Schrorer, a servant to John Schneider of the borough, placed a notice in the *Pennsylvanische Berichte* in 1750 inquiring as to the whereabouts of his four children, whom he had indentured a year before. A few of the British servants in Lancaster were criminals sentenced to transportation—exile to the colonies—as was the “Irish convict servant,” Thomas McNair, who ran away from the innkeeper Peter Worrall in 1742.<sup>7</sup>

There seems no reason to doubt that for the most part kindness and fair dealing characterized the relationships between masters and servants. Charges of mistreatment do appear in the court records, however. In 1755, the Court of Quarter Sessions recommended for consideration by the borough’s magistrates the case of Philip Limpt, a servant of Henry Skly, who complained that during a period when he was unable to work his master “gave me no close to cover me from the sun, not victills for as a man to work with, so that I was not able to do my dayly Labor. I was so wake [weak], such diet as a man Could not work upon.” When Limpt complained of his mistreatment to a magistrate, his master “brought me to goall . . . where I remained ever since, livin on bread and water, almost a Starvin for Close to cover my nakedness.” Limpt asked the court to investigate his situation, adding that he was “varry willing to go home with my master or any other man whome he pleases.” In 1758, Fanny Wooder, sold as a servant to the tanner Isaac Whitelock shortly after her arrival in America, complained to the court that she was subsequently sold to Joseph Solomon, a shopkeeper in the borough, and forced to add an additional year of servitude to her original indenture. When she appeared before the court she had faithfully served out the time of her old bond, plus “near three months” of the additional term, but she wished to be released from any further service to Solomon. The court ordered her freed and given “all her wearing apparel,” along with 23s. for “her freedom dues.”<sup>8</sup>

Not all servants were as faithful as Fanny, however. Some became restless in their servitude and either ran away altogether or absented themselves for extended periods. For running away on two occasions for a total of five weeks, Hugh Bradley was ordered to serve George Moore, brick-maker, an additional two years beyond his indenture. Mary O’Hara, who eluded her master for a considerable period of time, received an addition of twenty-one months to her original indenture. Few of the advertised run-aways were German-speaking servants who, perhaps because of the language problem as well as unfamiliarity with the country, would have found

escape more difficult. Even if they did not run away, some servants were trifling in their behavior. Explaining why he sold his bondsmaid, Rosannah, the merchant Charles Hamilton complained that she "is Really the most impudent, abusive Creature I have seen, and if I had kept her much longer it would have hurt me, as she made game of my Dutch Customers and quarreled with all my Neighbours."<sup>9</sup>

Within twenty years of the settling of Lancaster, a black population appeared. Most of the Negroes who lived in the town before 1790 were slaves, but a few free persons of color resided there at one time or another. In the summer of 1750, when the Quaker tanner Isaac Whitelock advertised the disappearance of "A Negro Man with an iron Collar about his Neck," there were at least seven slaves in the borough. Six years later, there were thirteen black bondsmen, and by 1764 twenty-eight such servants toiled in the town. By 1775, the number of slaves had dropped to twenty-three. But it was, ironically, precisely during the years in which Americans fought to gain recognition of the principle that "all men are created equal" that the number of slaves owned by Lancastrians increased dramatically. Indeed the number almost tripled between 1775 and 1783; there were fifty-four in 1779, and sixty-three in 1782. Some of the slaves included in the town's black population in 1782 were brought there by and belonged to Philadelphians who fled to the borough during the war, but of the slaves known to have been in Lancaster in that year at least fifty-seven were owned by residents. According to the first federal census (1790), there were fifty-seven thralls in the town.<sup>10</sup>

Throughout this period, the number of slaves in the borough never amounted to more than one to two per cent of the total population. They constituted the base of the social structure and, as is the case with all lowly folk of past times, the extant literary evidence tells us little about them. What we do know is derived largely from tax lists, inventories of estate, and other quantifiable data. It is most probable that Lancaster's slave population consisted of persons born in America rather than Africa. Advertisements for the sale of slaves frequently mentioned that the servants to be vended were "Country-born." What else can we know about them? The assessment lists and tax returns for the borough not only provide the number of Negro bondsmen in any given year but sometimes also yield other suggestive demographic information, albeit inconclusive. Down to the time of the Revolution, at least, Lancaster's slave population appears to have been a relatively youthful one. Ten of the fifteen slaves listed in 1759 were twenty-five or younger, and twelve of the twenty-three black servants noted in 1775 fell into the same category. Some Lancastrians appear to have acquired as their slaves children whom they kept for a number of years. In 1764, for example, nine of the twenty-eight slaves were age sixteen or un-

der. Three years earlier, Ulrich Reigart, butcher, sold "a likely healthy Negroe boy, about 14 Years of Age," who was described as having had smallpox and measles, and who was, moreover, "fit to wait on a Gentleman." There is evidence, too, that Lancaster's slave population had slightly more females than males. Unfortunately, the earliest records do not indicate the sex of slaves, but in 1782 at least thirty-seven of the sixty-three black servants over twelve years old were girls or women.<sup>11</sup>

This demographic evidence, joined with traditional literary sources, suggests the character of slavery as an institution in Lancaster. It was never a significant factor in the economic life of the borough. Although a few of the slaves may have been craftsmen laboring in the shops of local artisans, most of them were domestic servants in the homes of wealthy townsmen—a testimony, primarily, to the financial and social success of their owners. Prosperous storekeepers appear to have been the first possessors of human chattels in the borough, but wealthy men pursuing other occupations soon acquired similar property. Among the townsmen who owned slaves about 1764 were four shopkeepers, four innkeepers, a lawyer, a blacksmith, a butcher, a carpenter, a physician, a brewer, a militia officer, a candlemaker, a coppersmith, and a saddletreemaker. In most instances, the slaveowners of Lancaster owned only one such servant; the men who owned more were most likely to be prosperous shopkeepers and innkeepers, who were the wealthiest men in town. The largest number of slaves known to have been owned by a single individual were the five belonging in 1782 to Matthias Slough, the German host of the White Swan Inn who was also a shopkeeper.<sup>12</sup>

Most of the slaves in the borough were individuals who had to face the world alone, without the sustaining affections of parents, siblings, or consorts. One or two of them were married; but in only one instance are a slave husband and wife known to have lived together in the same household. Joseph Simon, a thriving merchant, attempted to send his "black Wench" to Fort Pitt, where he maintained a store, in 1772; she was, however, the wife of another slave in the town and about four months pregnant. When informed that she was to be sent away, she "went on in Such a Manner and would not Stir from here, sayd she'd Sooner kill herself" than leave Lancaster. Hannah, a slave belonging to Edward Shippen, Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas and Recorder of the Court of Quarter Sessions for Lancaster County, had a husband who was the slave of a resident of Chester, Pennsylvania, about seventy miles away. The servant was allowed to visit his wife periodically, and on one such occasion Shippen, observing Hannah's joy on her husband's arrival "and her Grief in parting with him, not knowing whether she will ever see him again," was moved to reflect that "Blacks have natural affections as well as we have." Hannah's



fear was not unfounded, for hanging over every slave was the possibility of being sold, or being abruptly separated from familiar surroundings, spouse, or friends. Matthias Slough, the hosteler, once sold a slave woman without including her child in the offer.<sup>13</sup>

Some of the slaves of Lancaster had masters who, intent upon the proper Christian upbringing of their servants, saw to their instruction and baptism in the faith. There was "a Negro" among the children of the Lutheran school in 1750. In the preceding year, the Moravian congregation held a "Taufe des Negerknaben" ("baptism of the Negro boys"). In April, 1784, three slaves of the merchant Paul Zantzinger—Louise, Flavia, and James—were baptized in St. James's Episcopal Church, where Sarah Parr, a slave belonging to the merchant John Parr, espoused the Christian faith a year later. Among the students in the school which he opened in 1771, Mr. Joseph Rathell, the Anglican curate, had in his charge "several Negroes belonging to different Families of the congregation," whom he taught on Sunday evenings in the schoolhouse, using his "best endeavours to instruct them in their Catochism [sic] and some of the plainest Duties of Religion and Morality, by which I hope these poor Creatures will be much benefited."<sup>14</sup>

Some of the black servants of Lancaster displayed an uncommon level of acculturation. In an advertisement announcing the sale of "one Negro woman and two pretty children [probably mulattoes]," Solomon Etting, storekeeper, mentioned that the woman could speak both German and English and was "suitable for city or country work." He added that "she would prefer being sold to a German farmer who lives near Lancaster." Dan, a slave who ran away from the tailor Christian Wertz, was also bilingual, could play a fiddle (which he bowed with his left hand), could "work a little at the saddler's trade," and was withal "a shrewd, cunning fellow."<sup>15</sup>

Insofar as the force implied in the subjection of one human being to another can ever be said to be truly mild, slavery in Lancaster displayed little of the harshness associated with plantation bondage. As the institution developed in the borough it was characterized rather by that permissiveness which has been noted recently by students of urban slavery. Slaves moved freely about the town and were allowed to mingle with each other. Aside from the yoke of lifetime servitude which was exclusively theirs to bear, these bondsmen appear to have been treated in much the same manner as indentured servants. They were never the subject of local legislation. In at least one instance, a Lancaster slave operated his own business. Thomas, the husband of Edward Shippen's slave Hannah, moved with permission from his master's house in Chester to Shippen's in 1776 and opened a coop-

er's shop. Shippen provided him with account books and appointed his law clerk to keep them for the slave "as if for myself." "I often saw him and Thomas together in my office," Shippen wrote to the slave's owner on one occasion, "when people were charged for Casks &c., and the Latter seemed always well pleased with the entrys. However, one day as I was walking on my pavement and Thomas was passing by in the Yard pretty near me, I heard him speaking to himself in a grumbling manner, saying that he could never bring [the clerk] to Settle accounts with him."<sup>16</sup>

Lancaster's slaves had an opportunity to mingle not only among themselves, but with the handful of free people of color who resided in the borough from time to time. Very little information survives concerning these blacks, who drifted in and out of the town in the course of what appears to have been a peripatetic existence. In 1754, a woman known only as "black Sall" apprenticed her five-year-old natural mulatto son, Annis McAdam, to the saddletreemaker John Bowne until the lad reached his majority. Most of the town's free blacks appear to have been domestic servants like the majority of the slaves, or common laborers. Rachel, a "free Mullattoe Girl" with a child in Maryland, was employed for seven months in 1767 as a maid by the sister of the attorney Jasper Yeates. The wife of Christopher Marshall, a Philadelphia Quaker apothecary who lived in the borough during the War of Independence, employed a free black woman to help her keep house. Marshall himself engaged a free black man named Charles as a sort of handyman, until one day when Charles received his pay, got a yearning to go to Baltimore, and left his employer without saying farewell. There is reason to believe that the "George Smith, negro, and Margaret Manson, mullato," married in St. James's Episcopal Church in 1785, were free people. "Negro Ben," who was probably also a free man, received a small sum from the borough in 1788 "for cleaning the Fire Engine House" on several occasions. According to the 1790 census, there were three black families among the thirty-nine non-white free persons of Lancaster.<sup>17</sup>

Merely the briefest shreds of evidence suggest that the black residents of the borough enjoyed some "society" amongst themselves. When his slave Dinah died in 1778, Christopher Marshall invited "the Negros in Lancaster" to attend the funeral. The blacks and some of the white residents found conviviality in Adam's Town, a poor and thickly settled German section of the borough. Poll, another slave belonging to Christopher Marshall, frequently stayed there all night; when she did her master invariably spent the following morning looking for her in that part of town, where she was wont to go dancing. In the late 1780's, Lancaster's blacks celebrated a special annual holiday.<sup>18</sup>

Most Lancastrians, sharing the racial bias characteristic of white men, regarded the blacks contemptuously, with prejudice and scorn. There

were, to be sure, some townsmen whose consciences were tender on the matter of slavery. Edward Shippen, who owned three slaves himself in 1773, confided in a letter to his son that he could not help but "Consider the Condition of these poor Slaves; indeed, Strictly speaking, I think none [of them] ought to be bound longer than for Seven years." Opposition to slavery did not, however, necessarily mean an accepting attitude towards Negroes. The extent of anti-black prejudice in the borough is suggested in Christopher Marshall's diary. When his servant Dinah died, Marshall spent a day in search of someone who would agree to lay her out, "as all the poor women here are rich in Imagination, so that it was with difficulty one could be procured at any rate." It took another day's search to secure persons "for to put the Negro woman in her Coffin. O what a wretched place is here," lamented the apothecary, "full of Relligious Professions but not a grain of love or charity, except in words, in the generality of the German inhabitants." Marshall's animadversion upon the German residents was itself uncharitable; certainly, it was gratuitous, for the superstition and prejudice which characterized their attitude towards black men was by no means peculiar to them.<sup>19</sup>

### -III-

If the residents of the borough were accustomed to a world governed by "the Great Law of Subordination," if they accepted as a matter of daily existence the fact that not all men were free, they knew as well that all free men were not equal. Lancaster was throughout the eighteenth century a lodestone for men in search of a fresh start and those who were yet untried. A new town in "an opulent Country" seemed to promise success for all comers, and attracted to it not only immigrants swarming into Pennsylvania but also the sons of well-established, prospering merchants, artisans, and professional men of Philadelphia and elsewhere. There soon developed, however, a wide disparity in the economic status of the residents of the town, and wealth became concentrated to a surprising extent in the hands of a relatively small number of families.

The best evidence for ascertaining the economic status of Lancastrians in this period is to be found in the distribution of assessed taxable wealth as it can be derived from tax assessment lists. For several reasons, it is impossible to determine the value of the taxpayer's actual estates: for one thing, not all forms of wealth were taxed; for another, tax assessors in colonial America tended to undervalue the estates of the more affluent property owners.<sup>20</sup> Collation of the tax assessment lists with inventories of estates would provide a more accurate indication of wealth, but such inventories were not always filed and do not always contain appraisals of every item of

a man's property. Nonetheless, the *relative* distribution of taxable wealth in the community can be determined from the data.

Two assessment lists for the Provincial tax, those for 1751 and 1788, have been selected for this analysis (see Table 8-2). These particular lists were chosen not only because they contain the requisite information concerning assessed taxable wealth, but also because they bridge a relatively long time span. In 1751, when there were 312 heads of families, the poorest thirty per cent possessed thirteen per cent of the community's total assessed taxable wealth. The next thirty per cent of the heads of families possessed twenty per cent. By 1788, with 612 heads of families, these percentages had declined to 2.5 per cent and ten per cent respectively, a drop of ten to eleven per cent for each category. At the same time, in 1751, only two decades after the town's establishment, the wealthiest ten per cent of its heads of families (thirty-five men) controlled one-third of the borough's taxable assets. By 1788, the gap between the top ten per cent and the bottom sixty per cent widened, with the former holding almost one-half of the town's wealth.

The extremes of material well-being are demonstrated even more vividly in the inventories of estate (see Tables 8-3 and 8-4). Melchior Fortinee, probably a tavernkeeper, who died in 1754, possessed property valued at £1,731.18.4, including, aside from household items, a watch with a silver chain and seal, silver shoe buckles and knee buckles, eight cows, six horses, "a Philadelphia Waggon," a lot and brick house on King Street worth £600, four and a half additional town lots, three and a half additional houses, and thirty acres of land outside of the borough. Another wealthy Lancastrian, the attorney George Ross, Jr., left an estate valued at £3,152.16.0 when he died in 1786; somewhat less than half of that amount was represented in uncollected debts totaling £1,400; the remainder consisted of such items as mahogany and walnut furniture, table and tea china, a table setting of pewter, silver knives and forks, a harpsichord, one chariot and harness, a Phaeton, a "Stage Coach," a gold watch, numerous books, an eight-day clock and case, and "a mulatto Girl named Dinah" (valued at £60). The inventory of David Stout, attorney, who died in 1764, totalled £435.10.0, and included a great number of books, three guns and a cutlass, two desks, three tables, ten chairs, silver plate worth £30, a silver tea service, "an old riding chair and gears," and three cows. At the poorer end of the scale stood John Doll, shoemaker, who died in 1765, leaving an estate valued at £60.8.11, including among other things tools of his trade, an assortment of leather, a gun, several old books, pewter eating utensils, a clothes press, and a cow. When the mason John Mayer died in 1766 his effects were valued at exactly £4.10.6, consisting of his clothes, a bed and bedstead, an iron pot, two iron pans, an "old hoe," a



TABLE 8 2<sup>21</sup>  
Vertical Distribution of Assessed Taxable Wealth in Lancaster Borough

Percent of Taxpayers	1751			1788		
	Total Wealth in each decile	% of Wealth in each decile	Cumulative % of wealth	Total Wealth in each decile	% of Wealth in each decile	Cumulative % of wealth
0-10	£ 216	2.875	2.875	£ 610	.534	.534
11-20	360	4.791	7.666	848	.743	1.277
21-30	441	5.869	13.535	1,528	1.340	2.617
31-40	465	6.189	19.724	2,175	1.907	4.524
41-50	480	6.388	26.112	3,692	3.237	7.761
51-60	554	7.373	33.485	5,826	5.109	12.870
61-70	645	8.585	42.070	9,167	8.039	20.909
71-80	759	10.102	52.172	13,764	12.071	32.980
81-90	1,113	14.814	66.986	20,887	18.318	51.298
91-100	2,480	33.009	99.995	55,525	48.696	99.994
Number of taxpayers (excluding freemen)		312			612	
Total Assessed Taxable Wealth		£7,513			£114,022	
Average Assessed Taxable Wealth		£24.08			£186.31	

TABLE 8-3<sup>22</sup>

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ASSESSED TAXABLE WEALTH IN LANCASTER BOROUGH, 1751			
Total Value of Taxable Wealth	No. Taxpayers in each wealth bracket	Total wealth in each bracket	Cumulative total of wealth
£ 1 - 10	36	£ 264	£ 264
11 - 20	159	2396	2660
21 - 30	61	1470	4130
31 - 40	21	768	4898
41 - 50	13	602	5500
51 - 60	5	294	5794
61 - 70	3	198	5992
71 - 80	2	147	6139
81 - 90	7	630	6739
91 - 100	3	300	7069
101 -	2	444	7513

TABLE 8-4<sup>23</sup>

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ASSESSED TAXABLE WEALTH IN LANCASTER BOROUGH, 1788			
Total Value of Taxable Wealth	No. Taxpayers in each wealth bracket	Total wealth in each bracket	Cumulative total of wealth
£ 1 - 50	267	£ 6233	£ 6233
51 - 100	75	5144	11377
101 - 150	56	6685	18062
151 - 200	49	8322	23684
201 - 250	32	6955	33379
251 - 300	36	10051	43430
301 - 350	14	4540	47970
351 - 400	15	5551	53521
401 - 450	20	8527	62048
451 - 500	8	3864	65912
501 - 550	8	4162	70074
551 - 1000	24	18131	88205
1000 -	8	25817	114022

spinning wheel, a water tub, a chest, a kneading trough, two old books, and a dung fork. How wretchedly poor some of these people were! A substantial part of the estates of some of the wealthier Lancastrians consisted of outstanding credits. In Stout's case, this amounted to forty-seven per cent of the estate and in Smout's to a whopping eighty-eight per cent.<sup>24</sup>

Who were the wealthiest men of Lancaster? They were, in the greatest number of instances, individuals engaged in commercial activities. Of the thirty-five men who comprised the most affluent decile of the heads of families in 1751, eight were traders, six were innkeepers, nine were artisans, six were professional men, and six were men whose occupations cannot be determined. Thirty-seven years later, the men engaged in commercial pursuits stood out even more prominently among the borough's richest inhabitants. Of the sixty-six men comprising the wealthiest decile of the heads of families in that year, sixteen were innkeepers, thirteen were storekeepers, nine were artificers, eight were professional men, four were farmers, six were identified merely as "Gentleman," and the remaining nine cannot be placed as to occupation.<sup>25</sup>

The designation "Gentleman," indicating an increasing status consciousness, reveals a further dimension of stratification in the community. Not before the 1780's was any head of family distinguished by this appellation; a few persons were described in this way in the borough tax list for 1782, but in the assessment list for 1788 no less than twenty-five individuals were elevated to "Gentleman." The meaning of the term is not altogether clear. It was, to be sure, applied only to men of means, but only seven of the sixty-six wealthiest Lancastrians were described as "Gentleman" in 1788; the word was also used to describe eighteen men who did not rank in the richest decile of the heads of families. It is clear, moreover, that the term did not imply a leisure class (the historical meaning of the word). Lancaster's "gentlemen" were a working gentry, most of whom had long been resident in the town, and who came from the professional group, the commercial group, and the ranks of the artisans; even the old Indian trader Alexander Lowrey had achieved the status of a "Gentleman" by 1788.<sup>26</sup>

If some Lancastrians were abundantly blessed with the favors of Dame Fortune, many more of them found it difficult merely to eke out a daily existence. Edward Shippen informed the town proprietor in 1773 that there was in the borough an "abundance of Poor People (a few Tradesmen) living on Wolfes hill and in Adams Town, and who maintain their Families with great difficulty by day Labour." At harvest times, these individuals might find work on nearby farms, but otherwise they could "but very seldom get any employment . . . ." Were it not for their own "garden

TABLE 8-5<sup>30</sup>

TENANCY IN LANCASTER, 1756 - 1788				
	1756	c.1764	1775	1788
Total Heads of Families	360	480	484	626
"Inmates" or "Tenants"	97	134	190	177
% of Tenants among Heads of families	26%	27%	39%	28%

truck," or the ownership of a cow, many would have suffered "for want of the ordinary necessarys of life . . . ." <sup>27</sup> As late as 1788, the town proprietor remarked that the poor constituted "a very great portion" of the inhabitants of Lancaster. <sup>28</sup>

Not only the destitute, but other inhabitants of the borough as well found the ownership of a horse or cow a help to the family's economy. The borough assessment list for 1759 indicates that 118 individuals (twenty-four per cent of the heads of families) owned at least one horse, and 187 heads of families (forty-one per cent of the total) owned at least one cow. In 1788, 249 individuals (thirty-nine per cent of the heads of families) owned at least one cow; and 122 persons (nineteen per cent of the heads of families) owned at least one horse over three years old. <sup>29</sup> The possession of milch cattle by such a large percentage of the families of Lancaster lent a curious element of country life to an otherwise urban environment, but the declining percentage pointed to the day when almost all Lancastrians must procure even their milk from nearby farmers.

Many of the residents of the borough owned no real property within the town. The assessment and tax lists refer to "Inmates" and "Tenants," but the precise meaning of the words is not clear. It would appear that the terms were used interchangeably, that they refer both to persons who rented rooms in houses owned by another person, and to those heads of families who rented entire dwellings. The listing of a man as an "Inmate" or "Tenant" does not necessarily mean that he owned no real property in the town; in some instances, men rented the dwellings in which they lived but were at the same time landlords of other town properties. In the majority of cases, however, the heads of families listed as "Inmates" or "Tenants" did not in fact own property in the town. Nor is the listing of a person in one of these categories necessarily a clue as to his economic status; very wealthy Lancastrians, such as Edward Shippen, who could have afforded to own their own homes, sometimes preferred to rent their habitations from someone else rather than assume the burdens of home ownership. The percentage of "Inmates" and "Tenants" in the borough fluctuated



between twenty-six and thirty-five per cent of the heads of families between 1756 and 1788 (see Table 8-5). In a good many instances, the renters were poor people, forced because of hard times and an inability to pay their ground rents, to sell their houses and lots. The town proprietor's agent informed him in 1760 that many destitute men had disposed of their "Huts and Lots to others more wealthy than themselves, who paid up the arrearages [in ground rent]. . . ." <sup>31</sup>

There appears to have been a high degree of horizontal or spatial mobility among the renters of the town. The borough assessment list for 1759, to take an example, lists 168 persons as tenants. A trace of these individuals in a borough tax list from about 1764 indicates that eighty-five, or fifty per cent of them, had disappeared from the town. Of the 138 heads of families listed as tenants in 1772, ninety-nine, or seventy-one per cent, had disappeared by 1788. Of course, some of the "disappearing" men died, but it is reasonable to assume that the majority of them moved from the town, adding to what is believed to have been a considerable degree of migration in the Pennsylvania back country. More likely than not, the tenants who left the borough moved further westward, or southward into the Valley of Virginia, in search of better circumstances. The tenant who remained in the town stood a mildly good chance of becoming the owner of property there. Twenty-five per cent of the tenants listed in 1759 were still in that position four years later, but an equal proportion had become owners of houses and lots. Four per cent of the tenants listed in 1772 were still renters sixteen years later, but twenty-three per cent of them had come into the ownership of at least one house. Still a tenant as late as 1750, the shopkeeper Joseph Simon, was within six years' time a wealthy merchant, the owner of several properties in the borough, as well as the master of indentured servants and a slave. Conrad Schwartz, saddler, was a tenant in 1772, but owned three houses in 1788. <sup>33</sup>

If there were many propertyless people in the borough, there were also quite a few who owned more than one house and lot. A significant percentage of the new lots granted in the town after 1742 went to persons previously in possession of town holdings, to individuals who took up more than one lot at the time of their settlement in the borough, and, in fewer instances, to former tenants and inmates. Of the 227 lots granted between 1742 and 1769, for example, eighty-eight (thirty-eight per cent) went to people in one of these categories, mostly the first; and of the eighty-eight lots thirty-one (thirty-six per cent) were granted to six individuals. <sup>34</sup> The majority of the men who took up additional town lots did so as speculators; they could afford to have houses built on the properties, then sell or rent them to newcomers as well as "the rising generation" of Lancastrians. A few individuals stand out as large holders of town real estate. According to the borough

tax list of about 1764, the estate of the lately deceased brewer, Valentine Krug, included seven houses in the borough. Jean Steward owned six. The shopkeeper George Groff owned five houses. Four men, including the Roman Catholic priest, owned four houses each; seven persons owned three houses each; and thirty-five other inhabitants owned two houses. Few of the houses of the town were owned by persons who lived outside of the borough.<sup>35</sup>

Only a handful of Lancastrians owned land outside of the borough. Of the 480 heads of families in the borough in 1763, fifty, or roughly ten per cent of them, possessed outland. The tracts listed ranged in size from three-quarters of an acre owned by John Feltman, innkeeper, to the 212 acres credited to Isaac Whitelock, the wealthy Quaker tanner; the average holding in outland was eighteen acres. In 1788, only sixteen of the heads of families (2.6 per cent of the total) are listed as possessing acreage of land outside the borough, the largest amount being the one hundred acres owned by John Lighty, a farmer.<sup>36</sup> The assessment lists and tax returns do not accurately reflect the landed wealth of those Lancastrians who were possessed of large holdings outside of town. Edward Shippen, for example, owned several outlots near the borough, as well as properties in Philadelphia and Germantown; he was, in addition, the proprietor of Shippensburg—"a Nest Egg for my Self and Children"—in Cumberland County. Thomas Cookson, the first chief burgess of Lancaster, owned in addition to two town lots and an outlot, more than thirty-six hundred acres of land in Lancaster, York, and Cumberland counties.<sup>37</sup>

#### -IV-

"The principal Inhabitants of Lancaster"—as they described themselves—were those who enjoyed the highest economic status. Their wealth testified to their success, and their leadership embraced the economic, social, and political dimensions of life in the borough. Bound together by the sinews of a common prosperity, they looked upon each other as equals, exchanged social conversation over countless dishes of tea, frequently gathered—in the case of the men—for a "rubber of Whist" at a favorite tavern, and regaled themselves together in other ways. Almost all of them included indentured servants within their households; some of them kept slaves. Not only did they "run" the town, they owned a considerable portion of it as landlords to their tenant neighbors.

The families of the highest economic and social status resided in the very center of town, for the most part; theirs was an enclave distinct from the larger community of less affluent townsmen who lived in "the back parts" of the borough or—in the case of the very poor—on the "skirts."<sup>38</sup> When the Assembly repealed the night-watch bill of 1765, for example, the resi-

dents who supported the action described themselves as "the poor Inhabitants" living in "the remote Parts of the . . . Borough." The opponents of the action, conversely, were "the principal Inhabitants" living at the center of town.<sup>39</sup>

In a town whose lifeblood was trade, it is not surprising to find that successful men of commerce were the most prominent in economic and social status; wealthy shopkeepers and innkeepers stood foremost among "the principal Inhabitants." In the earliest years of the town's existence, Sebastian Groff, a German trader who also owned a gristmill near the borough, was one of the richest and most prominent men in the community, and as one of the first two burgesses he enjoyed political prestige as well. At his death in 1763 – by which time he had moved into the country not too far from town – he left an estate valued at more than £6,000. The family of John Hopson, another shopkeeper of Germanic background, kept company with the best people in town, as did the trader Michael Gross and his clan. Also in the first rank of borough society was the family of the town's most enterprising merchant, Joseph Simon, a Jew. Strict in upholding his Hebrew heritage, Simon had a reputation for liberal and just dealings with all of his associates, and was much revered by his neighbors, especially the poor, who were frequently the objects of his benefaction. Clearly of the same social calibre were Matthias Slough, the thriving German host of the White Swan Inn, and his family. Elected a burgess in 1761, Slough also served the county as treasurer and coroner. His wife, Mary, was the daughter of George Gibson, keeper of one of the first and, in the early years, most popular hostelrys in town.<sup>40</sup>

When a younger generation of commercial leaders began to assert themselves in the 1770's, among them was Paul Zantzing. The son of an immigrant father who came to America in 1732, he was born in the borough twelve years later and was a prominent member of the Lutheran Church. In 1769, he married Margaret Groff, a daughter of the wealthy trader Sebastian Groff. After Margaret's death in 1772, Zantzing married Esther Barton, the daughter of Lancaster's Anglican curate. Zantzing subsequently contributed to the support of both the Lutheran and Anglican churches. Distinguishing himself in local politics as well as in business, Zantzing served as an assistant (1773–1777) and as chief burgess (1780, 1791–94, 1797–98). He was, in addition, a member of the Board of Trustees of Franklin College. Adam Reigart, proprietor of "The Grape" tavern, a popular watering spot for Lancaster bigwigs, was elected an assistant in 1777, and a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly three years later. One of the very wealthiest townsmen in his day, he possessed an estate assessed at £1,780, in 1789, including two houses in the borough, thirty-seven acres of land, and two slaves.<sup>41</sup>

Among the professional men of high economic and social status, lawyers and individuals connected with the administration of the law predominated. Thomas Cookson's various political and court offices, and his well-placed connections outside of the borough, secured for him and his wife, Margaret, the very first places in Lancaster society during the 1740's and 1750's. Success came to Cookson at an early age—he was thirty-two when appointed the town's first chief burgess—and advancement brought with it a desire on his part for the emblems of gentility and prominence. Probably the first in the borough to do so, in 1745 he placed an order with a Philadelphia coachmaker for a "chair," to be inscribed on the sides "and the Back part . . . where the Coat of Arms is generally put," with the initials "T.C.M." (Thomas Cookson, Magistrate). "The lining is to be green cloth," he added, with "everything good and substantial." As agent for James Hamilton, the town proprietor, Cookson spent a portion of his time in keeping that gentleman informed as to developments in Lancaster and a greater part of his days in the less pleasant task of dunning neighbors for their ground rents. The measure of high esteem in which he and his family were held is suggested by the fact that the death of Mrs. Cookson in 1749 occasioned "a very large funeral attended by all classes of people." Wealthy, influential, respected, and still possessed of a promising future, Cookson himself died in 1753, aged forty-three, and was buried in the graveyard of St. James's Anglican Church, of which he was a founder, liberal benefactor, and vestryman. "He held and discharged with integrity," his friends recalled on a stone, "several of the first offices in this County of Lancaster, and thereby, and by his generous benefactions to the church, as well as many other good offices to his neighbors, he deservedly acquired the esteem of mankind." <sup>42</sup>

Cookson's place, as the biggest of Lancaster's bigwigs, was accorded to the man who succeeded him in his offices at the courthouse. Edward Shippen, rotund bearer of a family name distinguished in seventeenth-century Boston as well as eighteenth-century Philadelphia, settled in the borough in 1752. A former mayor of the Provincial capital, and a partner in the mercantile firm of Shippen and Lawrence, his fur-trading ventures and western landholdings had previously introduced him to the back country. But gossip and the threat of a suit concerning the legality of his second marriage (to Sarah Plumley) prompted him to move permanently westward. He became, at once, the foremost of local notables, assuming Cookson's places as prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas and recorder of the Court of Quarter Sessions—"posts worth four or five hundred [pounds] a year"—in addition to his job as Hamilton's agent in the borough. He was frequently commissioned a justice of the peace for Lancaster County and was always an important administrative and social link between the capital



and his adopted western community, working tirelessly during the French and Indian War to organize the resources of the western region. Well-versed in classical and modern languages and literature, Shippen was a trustee of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). He was a moralist in his approach to life, and possessed strong religious convictions, both qualities to be seen in his active participation in the organization of the Presbyterian Church in the borough (though he also maintained a pew in St. James's Anglican Church). For his quieter hours, Shippen found gardening a pleasant pastime; he delighted in the rose bushes, and the box hedges and cherry trees which grew in his ample yard. And he was fond, too, of the homemade beer which he frequently served to his many visitors.<sup>43</sup>

George Ross, a prominent lawyer among Lancaster's elite, was born in Newcastle, Delaware, in 1730, and moved to the borough twenty years later, having studied law in Philadelphia with his brother, John Ross. He was chosen a Lancaster County representative to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1768, holding the post for the next seven years. A prominent leader of the revolutionary movement in Pennsylvania, he was a delegate to both the First and Second Continental Congresses, and as a member of the latter body signed the Declaration of Independence. He served as vice president of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention, where, on account of President Benjamin Franklin's intermittent illnesses, he reportedly handled "the whole business of the department," including some of the thinking which Franklin "declined the trouble" of doing. In 1779, Ross was appointed a judge of the court of admiralty for Pennsylvania, but died from a violent attack of gout only three months later, aged fifty.<sup>44</sup>

A younger group of advocates introduced themselves to Lancaster society in the 1760's and 1770's. William Augustus Atlee left his native Philadelphia to study the law with Edward Shippen, who was lavish in praise of "this very clever fellow." Admitted to the bar in 1758, Atlee was the borough's chief burgess from 1770 to 1775 and may have been responsible for the revitalization of civic concern so apparent in Lancaster in the early 1770's. During the War of Independence, he was chairman of the Lancaster County Committee of Public Safety, and for several years commissary of the English and Hessian prisoners of war confined in Lancaster. He began a noteworthy advance to judicial eminence when he was appointed to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1777; he was reappointed in 1784. Seven years later, he became president judge of the judicial district which included Lancaster, Chester, York, and Dauphin counties.<sup>45</sup>

After receiving a M.A. from the College of Philadelphia, nineteen-year-old Jasper Yeates ("a clever, shmilén young Man") arrived in 1764 to serve as Edward Shippen's clerk. "Very good natured," and full of "the ambition

natural to a young man of good education," Yeates gained admission to the bar a year after his arrival in town, and established his position among the town's elite by marrying Sarah Burd, who was the daughter of Colonel James Burd of the Pennsylvania militia and a granddaughter of Edward Shippen. Pursuing a thriving practice which left him no time to seek an office in borough government, Yeates nevertheless became an important political arbiter in the back-country region, which he traversed annually in his appearances as an attorney before the circuit court. In 1776, he was chairman of the Lancaster County Committee of Correspondence, and was appointed by Congress as a Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Middle Department. He served in 1787 as a member of the Pennsylvania ratifying convention which approved the new constitution of the United States, and four years later became a justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. In that position, he gained prominence for his *Reports*, one of the earliest compilations of American law. As wealthy as he was eminent, Yeates owned five Lancaster houses and a slave in 1788. In the later stages of the Revolution and the Confederation period, he joined with Edward Shippen, Jr., Tench Coxe, and others in shipping merchandise to Cuba, France, Jamaica ("by a mercantile Maneouvre"), and elsewhere. In the 1780's, he used other portions of his funds to speculate in public securities and to purchase stock in the Bank of North America. With his friend Thomas Hartley, a lawyer in York, he engaged as well in a bit of "land jobbing."<sup>46</sup>

John Hubley, lawyer, son of the innkeeper Michael Hubley, reflected further merit upon a German-speaking family that had already achieved social and political eminence in the borough. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Convention in 1776, and in the same year became a member of the Lancaster County Committee of Safety. Two years later, he was appointed clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions, prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, clerk of the Orphan's Court, and recorder of deeds. With Jasper Yeates, his legal mentor, he participated in the Pennsylvania ratifying convention of 1787. John Joseph Henry, son of the gunsmith William Henry, was admitted to the bar in 1785, and only eight years later was named president judge of the Second Judicial District of Pennsylvania.<sup>47</sup>

Next to the lawyers, physicians were the most prominent of the professional men who were included among "the principal Inhabitants." Adam Simon Kuhn, without a doubt the most prestigious "Dutchman" in the borough during the period covered in this study, was not only a popular leader in town, county, and Provincial politics, but was also one of the wealthiest men in Lancaster. In addition to his property in the town, which included several houses and, until he sold it to James Hamilton, the tract known as "Adam's Town," this trusted doctor owned real estate in Germantown and Reading. In the latter, he opened an apothecary shop in the

1750's, running it in partnership with another physician for more than twenty years. A devout Lutheran – and apparently one of pietistic leanings – Kuhn was an elder of Trinity Church and frequently represented the congregation as a lay delegate to the meetings of the Ministerium. Among his close friends was the Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, with whom he frequently corresponded on church matters and almost always visited whenever he chanced to be in Philadelphia. A man of many accomplishments himself, Kuhn raised three sons to do him credit. His namesake, Adam, Jr., after receiving his first instruction in medicine from his father, went on to Upsala, Sweden (where he pursued a course in botany with Linnaeus), London, and to the University of Edinburgh, where he received a degree in medicine in 1767. In the following year, he became professor of *materia medica* and botany in the College of Philadelphia. Another son, Daniel, received his B.A. from the College of Philadelphia in 1768, and a third son, Frederick, became a physician like his father.<sup>48</sup>

With a letter of introduction from William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, Edward Hand, a physician and a native of Ireland, made Lancaster his home in 1774 and quickly asserted his leadership. Formerly a surgeon with the Royal Irish forces, Hand joined the patriot troops during the War for Independence as lieutenant colonel of the First Battalion of Pennsylvania Riflemen, and rose – highly esteemed by General Washington – to the rank of adjutant general by the end of the contest. In 1783, he was elected a Pennsylvania delegate to the Congress of the Confederation; and a few years later made his entry into the politics of the borough, winning election as a burgess in 1787 and as chief burgess in the two succeeding years.<sup>49</sup>

## V

The creation and maintenance of a sense of community is more easily facilitated, perhaps, when the members of the social order are essentially equal in their material circumstances. In Lancaster, however, no such parity existed. By the close of the eighteenth century society in Lancaster was highly stratified. At one extreme, there was an upper stratum of wealthy families, primarily engaged in commercial pursuits, who eventually came to control just about one-half of the wealth generated by the town's economy. At the other extreme was a mass of considerably poorer people struggling to get by. At the end of the period nearly one-third of the heads of families owned no town property, and were thus deprived of a strong bond of attachment to their society. Significantly, these developments occurred within the context of a town economy which was commercial and industrial, and which was assuming by 1790 the industrial structure that would

characterize it in the early nineteenth century with the beginnings of the industrial revolution in America (see Chapters Four and Five). If there had ever been a time in the town's history when its residents were less differentiated in terms of wealth and status, it must have been in the very earliest years. By the 1790's, it is clear, the borough's reputation for being "a very wealthy and respectable place" was grossly misleading from the standpoint of its real economic class structure. For many of the first- and second-generation immigrants who lived in the town, the dream of prosperity in the New World was still merely a fantasy.

### NOTE

The data and conclusions concerning the economic class structure of Lancaster presented here corroborate the findings of other scholars currently engaged in the analysis of the social structure of early America. What happened in Lancaster would seem to have been typical of a process that was occurring throughout America. In his book, *A New England Town, The First Hundred Years* (New York, 1970), Kenneth Lockridge notes that by 1736 "a kind of upper class was just beginning to emerge" in Dedham, Massachusetts. The wealthier farmers dropped their traditional designation as "yeoman" and—like the wealthier Lancastrians—preferred to call themselves, and to be called, "gentleman." The junior branches of old families and poor newcomers were forced out onto marginal lands, and the outlying precincts of the town became "biased toward poverty" (a rather similar phenomenon, indeed, to the poverty existing on "the skirts" of Lancaster). "Two distinct social environments were emerging," Lockridge concludes, "one characterized by scattered dirt farmers struggling to stay off the poor list, and the other dominated by gentlemen long accustomed to the best of everything available and to the ebb and flow of the tiny metropolis."

Similarly, in his work on the economic development and social structure of Boston, 1687 to 1771, James Henretta has remarked "the growing inequality of the distribution of wealth among the propertied segments of the community, notably the greater exclusiveness and predominance of a mercantile 'elite.' Society had become more stratified and unequal." ["Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. series, 22 (1965), 75-92]. James T. Lemon and Gary Nash, who have studied an area close to Lancaster—eighteenth-century Chester County—observed that "the experience of more than a century [there] seems to suggest that the comparatively open society, operating in a stable pre-industrial economic environment, encumbered with few governmental restraints, and subscribing to a liberal ideology confirmed



by the political philosophy of the American Revolution, led to increasing social stratification, at least as measured by the distribution of wealth." ["The Distribution of Wealth in Eighteenth-Century America: A Century of Change in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1693-1802," *Journal of Social History*, 2 (1968), 1-24.] And in what remains the only full-scale study of early American social structure, Jackson Turner Main noted that throughout American society in the quarter century between the end of the French and Indian War and the end of the Confederation period "the long-term tendency seems to have been toward greater inequality, with more marked class distinction," brought on by "the increasingly commercial character of the country as contrasted with the more prevalent subsistence economy of an earlier period." [*The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (Princeton, 1965).]

## CHAPTER NINE

# *Awaiting the Hope of Israel*

THE religions which prevail here," remarked an astonished visitor to the borough in 1744, "are hardly to be numbered. There are Dutch Calvinists [that is, members of the German Reformed church]," Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Friends, "great numbers of Irish Presbyterians, and several Jews . . . with divers others that neither themselves nor anyone else can tell what sect they follow or imitate."<sup>1</sup> Lancaster reflected in microcosm the diversity of faiths which characterized the Province of Pennsylvania and which was the result of William Penn's principle that there should be liberty of conscience in his commonwealth. Despite the bustle in the town, and its devotion to commerce, a sincerity and vitality of religious feeling—essentially pietistic and evangelical in nature—existed in the community. But men who believed zealously in their own convictions were apt to be intolerant of others'. Religious bigotry was endemic in the town, to be sure, but there were also some impressive manifestations of a more catholic spirit which overcame old prejudices and enabled men of different persuasions to live and work peacefully together. On account both of environmental circumstances and the method in which the people supported their ministers, almost every religious society in the borough knew and defended the power of the congregation.

### -II-

For the German denominations, there was a great harvest of souls to be reaped. Members of the Reformed congregation had, by 1746, constructed a log church, which had a small organ and was capped by a steeple holding a bell sold to the church by the Dunkers of Ephrata when that body of pietists decided to rid themselves of all "Babylonian bell trash." Lancaster's was the third largest Reformed congregation in Pennsylvania; 100 families worshipped there in 1758, 150 in 1771, and 178 in 1789. A new stone church was completed in 1753, containing a wineglass pulpit and a communion table enclosed in a circular balustrade; a gallery was added in 1769.

Until the 1760's the church minister and teacher received annual contributions of money from the Synods of North and South Holland and the Classis of Amsterdam, but afterwards the congregation supported itself entirely. <sup>2</sup> There were 243 communicants in the Lutheran congregation in

1749, and twenty years later thirteen hundred persons covenanted as church members. A stone building completed in the 1740's and containing chairs, a communion table, and prayer books, built and given by the faithful, served as the place of worship until 1766, when the congregation dedicated a new brick structure and named it the Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity. Even as they struggled to provide a worthy meetinghouse for themselves, the Lutherans of the borough contributed to the support of their church elsewhere in Pennsylvania, giving one hundred Reichs dollars towards the construction of the first Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, St. Michael's, in 1743.<sup>3</sup>

"In Lancaster there is a priest settled," noted a resident in 1742, "where they have bought some lots, and [are] building a mass house . . ." This chapel, built of logs, housed the Mission of St. John Nepomucene, which soon served the second largest Roman Catholic congregation in the Province, the largest being in Philadelphia. Priests for the Lancaster church were supplied by the Bishop of London and by the Jesuit Provinces in Germany. After 1750, the congregation benefitted from part of a £4,000 fund bequeathed by Sir John James, a wealthy English Catholic dedicated to the spiritual well-being of his brethren in the colonies. There are no records to indicate the size of the congregation in the early years, but it probably contained a majority of the 251 Catholic communicants in Lancaster County in 1757. By 1785 there were seven hundred parishioners attending Mass at the mission. The progress of Catholicism in the Province and the borough annoyed not a few people; when the mission was destroyed by fire in 1760 it was widely believed to have been the work of an arsonist. Within two years, however, a "very elegant chapel of hewn stone;; replaced the old building.<sup>4</sup>

Merely by chance did the Anglicans of Lancaster secure a settled minister and take the first steps towards forming a congregation. "The Rev. Mr. Richard Locke accidentally come into this our Borough . . .," the vestry minutes for October, 1744, record, "we agreed to give him what Encouragement we could for his Residence amongst us, and tho' destitute of any Sett Place of Worship for performing the Divine service of the Church of England, and Its members here but very few, yet in order to Keep up and maintain the Polity or Government of the Church" the Anglicans formed a congregation by the election of church wardens and vestrymen on October 3, 1744. Prior to Locke's arrival — he was an Englishman previously resident in Bermuda — the Anglicans of Lancaster could depend only on occasional sermons delivered by itinerant ministers. As early as 1742, a Provincial church official wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel concerning the need for ministers in Pennsylvania; "and were the society able to open a new mission," he stated, "I am sure no place can

want [one] more than the town of Lancaster . . . .” A year after Locke’s settlement, the congregation launched a subscription for the construction of a church building. Because they were too few in number to raise the needed fund, and since many members of the congregation were in “low Circumstances,” the struggling society received financial help from other Anglicans in Pennsylvania, including Governor George Thomas, the Rev. Richard Peters, and Andrew and James Hamilton. By 1753 the structure stood complete except for the “platform” and the installation of the pews, which were erected at the expense of the holders, who paid an annual rent for them. In 1761, the parish secured as its rector the Rev. Thomas Barton, an Irishman who had previously served as a missionary to settlers west of the Susquehanna and as chaplain on the Forbes Expedition. Though he was supported by three congregations—Lancaster, Pequea, and Carnarvon—Barton found it difficult to maintain his wife and children; he considered removing to Maryland, but upon earnest entreaties from his parishioners and from James Hamilton and Thomas Penn, who gave the rector a “present” of £50, he remained in Lancaster until 1778. Then, a Loyalist, he received permission to go behind the British lines to New York City. No services were held in the church from 1776 until 1781.<sup>5</sup>

Although there were Friends in Lancaster from its earliest settlement they had no meeting of their own before 1752. The nearest center of organized Quaker worship was at Sadsbury, in Chester County, and it was the monthly meeting there which allowed Lancaster’s Friends an “indulged meeting” for worship on “First Days” in 1752. Concerned with the appropriateness of their proceedings, the borough meeting petitioned Sadsbury two years later “to appoint some Friends to give them a visit and to consider how far they may be able to hold and keep meetings for worship with reputation.” All appears to have been in order, for two lots were purchased in Lancaster soon afterwards and with the approval of the Sadsbury group, the Quakers in the borough set about erecting a brick meetinghouse located on Queen Street between Vine and German streets, which they completed in 1760. Twice weekly, on Sundays and Thursdays, Poulteney, Whitelocks, Worralls, and others assembled to await the promptings of an Inner Light. Scant evidence survives concerning Lancaster’s Friends, but they were assuredly not numerous.<sup>6</sup>

Their small number did not enable the Presbyterians who lived in Lancaster to support a minister in the early years. Adherents to this faith had either to go to Pequea for services or to depend upon Donegal presbytery for occasional “supplies”—itinerant clergymen—who visited the borough, preaching and administering the Lord’s Supper in the courthouse. The town’s Presbyterians eventually joined with others of their faith in Leacock to form a joint congregation; and in 1760 the Synod sent out a minister to



serve the two towns, but this was only a short-lived arrangement. Even though they had no settled minister, Lancaster's Presbyterians were anxious to erect a church building. After securing a lot on Orange Street in 1760, they held two public lotteries to raise money for construction and the work was finished in 1770. A year earlier, the Lancaster and Leacock congregations petitioned the New Castle (Delaware) presbytery to send them as a minister the Rev. Mr. John D. Woodhull, who accepted the call. During the years of his pastorate, Woodhull spent two-thirds of his time at Leacock and the remainder in the borough.<sup>7</sup>

Lancaster's small group of Jews, consisting of about ten families in 1747, had neither a synagogue nor a rabbi, though they did secure a half-acre of land in the town to use as a burial ground for their people. Living in an area remote from a Hebrew congregation, they did as well as they could in abiding by the Law. The wealthy shopkeeper, Joseph Simon, provided a room in his house for occasional Sabbath services, at which time a portable Ark was placed against the east wall. The lack of proper persons to conduct religious services was always a problem; in 1769, when the merchant Michael Gratz of Philadelphia married one of Simon's daughters, there was no one either in Lancaster or in Philadelphia qualified to perform the wedding ceremony, so that the families had to secure a *hazan* from New York. To provide themselves with a *mohel*, or circumciser, Lancaster Jews joined forces with other members of their faith nearby to employ Bernard Itzhak Jacobs, who served the region for about twenty years after 1760. A ritual slaughterer appears to have been available locally prior to 1768, but that year Lancaster Jews wrote to their friends in Philadelphia requesting "a man to kill meat for us and to teach the Children." By the 1780's, they had reportedly established a "temporary synagogue," but were still devoid of the requisite religious officers. The shopkeeper Levy Andrew Levy probably expressed the sentiments of his co-religionists as well as his own in 1784 when he wrote that he wished he might move "to a place where [there is] a congregation of our Society, and that I might bring up my children as Jews . . . . For a family to be remote from our Society is shocking." Despite the difficulties they met with in the strict observance of their rules, the Jews of the borough did maintain close contact in business, social, and spiritual matters with their brethren in Philadelphia and New York. Joseph Simon subscribed £25 in 1782 towards the building of a synagogue in the former city.<sup>8</sup>

Welcomed by slander, bigotry, and violence, the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravians, appeared in Lancaster in the 1740's. As early as 1742, Count Zinzendorf, a Saxon nobleman and first bishop of the United Brethren, preached in the courthouse; and two years later the borough was the scene of a meeting of the "Allgemeine" or interdenominational Pennsylvania

Synod. At this stage of their development, the Moravians aimed to make their society an ecumenical, non-denominational body; but they were despised by members of the Lutheran and Reformed congregations who thought that the "Herrnhutern"—referring to Zinzendorf's estate, a major center of Moravian missionary enterprise—ought to be "driven out of the town." When Bishop Augustus Spangenberg preached in the borough at a second union synod in 1745, he was pelted with mud by some of the assembled audience.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the Moravian outlook came to be shared by a growing number of Lancastrians, especially defectors from the previously established German Protestant congregations. The Rev. Laurence T. Nyberg, minister of the Lutheran Church, "brought uneasiness to his flock" when he began openly to display a friendly attitude toward the Moravians, and when it was learned that he helped to organize the "allgemeine" synod of 1745. A split developed within the congregation and, according to one report, "the two parties came very near to blows and violence. Some of them went to the church with guns and swords, and even the women took a hand in the fray and began to lay about them boldly." The opposition party made an attempt to lock the minister out, but instead the rival factions reached a compromise whereby Nyberg preached to "his party" in the church on Sunday mornings and the "other party" attended a sermon based on orthodox teachings read to them on Sabbath afternoons. A new outburst soon occurred, however, during which the church was closed and Nyberg's supporters brought an unsuccessful suit against their adversaries as disturbers of the peace. To restore order within the congregation, the Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, patriarch of the Lutheran church in America, visited the borough and preached in the courthouse.<sup>10</sup>

The doctrines of the United Brethren created disturbances within the Reformed congregation as well. When, in 1743, the Rev. Bartholomew Rieger invited Count Zinzendorf to the church, he "made very much" of the Moravian leader "and took him to his house." On the following Sunday, according to one account, Rieger's sermon was "nothing but a glorifying and praising of the piety and doctrines of the Moravian brethren." The majority of the congregation disapproved of their minister, who allegedly "always had very much intercourse with all sorts of sects" and who taught "the corrupt, mystic, and Moravian doctrine of sanctification after death, even of young children." Under pressure, Rieger left the Calvinist congregation, and when he attempted to return in 1746 a majority of the members refused to have him back.<sup>11</sup>

By the spring of 1746, those residents of the borough who were inclined toward the Moravian point of view moved in the direction of organizing a new congregation. About eight to ten families from the Lutheran Church,

including some prominent members, "separated and in a short time built themselves an entirely new stone church." Nyberg and "other impartial preachers" delivered sermons in the new meetinghouse. The members of the new church—which was consecrated and named for St. Andrew in November, 1746—refused at first to identify themselves as Moravians; Nyberg, who became the pastor of the maverick flock, maintained that he was still "a pure Lutheran preacher"; and the congregation regarded itself as "a free church in which every servant of Christ should be at liberty to preach." Nyberg preached both in German and English, hoping in this way to attract all manner of sheep to his ecumenical fold. There were additional defections from the Lutheran Church which, in Nyberg's absence, had only intermittent preaching; the newcomers were attracted to St. Andrew's because they wanted to hear a sermon every Sunday and because they were allegedly "urged and enticed to go." Whenever a strong pastor served as a supply to the Lutheran Church, however, some of the defectors repented of their errant ways and went back to their old congregation.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the efforts of its supporters to avoid becoming a new denomination, St. Andrew's became the nucleus of a Moravian congregation which was officially organized in 1748. Early in the following year Abraham Reinke, a Swede and former Lutheran, was installed as pastor and conducted the first communion service or "love feast" ("Liebesmahl"), as the Moravians called it. Initially, the services of the new congregation were held in private homes, rather than at St. Andrew's, since that building was still considered to belong to an ecumenical group, but such distinctions were soon overlooked and the religious exercises were held in the church, despite the threat of some of those who had previously worshipped there to "take it away" from the separatists who declared themselves to be Moravians. In 1750, the members of the little congregation astounded their neighbors by erecting a large stone building, with "the Hall as large as that at Bethlehem [Pennsylvania]," to serve as church, parsonage, and schoolhouse. There were those among the Moravians who thought that such an imposing edifice was "unapostolic, being altogether unlike the lowly Jesus," but the project was completed and remained "ein Wunder in der Leute Augen"—"a Wonder in the Eyes of the People."<sup>13</sup>

Their visible success notwithstanding, the Moravians were still a religious minority in a very hostile community. Avoiding defections from the society was a perennial problem in the early years. The Reverend Mr. Spangenberg visited the congregation on several occasions, employing "all his artfulness and diligence to hold his people together" and, according to an opponent, to make the Lutheran church "suspect" to them. There was for the Moravians, moreover, every urge to circumspect behavior. When Matthias Jung, a prominent shopkeeper and member of the church, com-

mitted suicide in a fit of derangement in 1749, his church fellows considered it "a Blow to our Happiness, particularly as such a thing is quite unheard of among Brethren, and the World and Mockers will now get the Opportunity to slander and to annoy the Brethren." There were more reasons than this, in the eyes of outsiders, to criticize the Moravians. On several occasions, Pastor Reinke noted in his diary the hostile sermons preached to the other Protestant congregations of the borough. The Rev. Jacob Lischy delivered a homily to the Reformed people in which he ridiculed "the easy Way of the Brethren to Salvation," following this two months later with a discourse on "false Prophets in the Hands, according to which the Brethren are the most wicked Rogues to be found on Earth, who are scarcely to be tolerated in the Republic." At the beginning of 1750 several members of the congregation reported that the "Engellanders" of Lancaster were upset about a sermon of Nyberg's—he had by this time been ordained as a Moravian minister—in which he allegedly said that "repentance is good for nothing." Another member of the congregation reported to Reinke an encounter with the Reverend Mr. Rieger "who brought forward all sorts of Reservations [Bedenklichkeiten] and Objections [Einwendung] against the Brethren, but on account of his scant information was soon silenced." The sensitivity displayed by the Moravians was not unjustified, for in the eyes of the Lutheran and Reformed people a struggle of near-cataclysmic proportions seemed in the making. "Lancaster is an important station," the Rev. Henry Muhlenberg confided to his diary in 1748, "in which the Herrnhuters have gained a secure foothold, and we must either drive them out or they us."<sup>14</sup>

As its religious congregations grew apace, Lancaster became the most important western center for several of the denominations. Next to Philadelphia and Germantown, the borough and its environs held the largest concentration of Lutherans, Reformed, and Roman Catholics in the Province. The growing importance of the town as a religious center for these bodies is attested by the number of synodical or other denominational gatherings convened there. In 1749, the second meeting of the United Lutheran Congregations met in the borough; twelve years later, the annual pastors' convocation of the United Swedish and German Lutheran Ministeriums gathered there in conjunction with the laying of the cornerstone for Trinity Church. The most numerous of the ecclesiastical sessions convoked in the borough were those of the Pennsylvania Coetus of the Reformed church, which met in Lancaster fifteen times in this period. Special Moravian convocations held there included the Union Synod meetings of 1744 and 1745 as well as the conference which organized the Moravian Society for Propagating the Gospel in 1751. The yearly meeting of "the people called Quakers," a general meeting for public worship only, con-



vened in Lancaster in August, 1765. Such assemblies continued to be held in the borough at other times later in the period.<sup>15</sup>

-III-

As they had in the earliest years of their existence, several of the congregations of Lancaster faced for a long period the difficulty of securing regular and settled ministers. None of these congregations was content with temporary preachers, nor did they like to share a settled minister with nearby communities, which some of them were required to do. Still worse, in those churches deprived of frequent sermons by the absence of a settled minister there arose the problems of defections, inattentiveness on the part of the people to the requirements of personal piety, and disorderliness within the congregation. Any clergyman serving a Lancaster church in the early years had to be unwavering in his doctrine and able to hold his flock to the standard of orthodoxy, for as the officials of the Lutheran congregation informed their Provincial superiors in 1767, a Lancaster minister was "isolated, remote from older colleagues, and surrounded and tempted by a variety of crafty sects."<sup>16</sup>

Of the religious societies established in the borough, only the Roman Catholics and the Moravians benefitted from constant spiritual leadership from the beginning. But elsewhere the story differed. Having been without a minister for several years, the Lutherans petitioned Sweden in 1744 for a teacher "according to the Holy Scriptures, the Augsburg Confession, and the other Symbolical Books." The Reverend Mr. Nyberg came to the congregation in response to this request, but, as we have already seen, soon fell out with the congregation. For two years after 1751, and for a similar period after 1767, the Lutherans had to depend upon supplies. The Reformed congregation experienced more difficulty in this respect than any other group, being without the services of a settled minister for a total of thirteen of the years covered in this study. When the Rev. Richard Locke left the Anglican parish in 1748, the church lacked a rector for three years.<sup>17</sup>

In a few instances, the problem of securing a settled minister was exacerbated by internecine quarrels within the congregation concerning the virtues of a particular minister come to preach at the church for two or three Sundays "on trial." In August, 1749, the Reformed people bickered among themselves almost to the point of fighting, some of them favoring one ministerial candidate, others another. Not long afterwards, a similar dispute erupted within the Lutheran fold over the superior "gifts of speech" possessed by one of two candidates for pastor. One party "made good its claim to the church," and the other faction "held services in the courthouse and retained the parsonage." The latter gave up the parsonage

for a sum of money. When local authorities denied them further use of the courthouse their minister drifted away and the congregation was reunited.<sup>18</sup>

Even when they secured a settled minister, almost all of the congregations of Lancaster had to share him with neighboring towns. The Reverend Mr. Locke, for example, preached to the Anglicans of the borough only on alternate Sundays, dividing the rest of his time between communicants at Pequea and Carnarvon; subsequent curates, though they made their headquarters in Lancaster, visited the same three communities. During the six-year period when he was pastor of the Reformed Church, the Rev. Philip William Otterbein also preached at New Providence and, occasionally, at Reading and York. The Lutherans, too, had to share their spiritual leaders with coreligionists nearby. Regarding their town as the most important one in the region, and displaying an uncharitable attitude towards the needs of their neighbors, the members of the Lancaster churches resented having to share their ministers and, in some instances, worked assiduously to insure that the pastor at least made the borough his "chief Place of Residence." Between 1743 and 1747, Anglicans in Lancaster and Pequea rivaled each other in attempts to secure a spiritual leader. Both communities petitioned the S. P. G. for a mission, the Pequea group having sent theirs via Thomas Cookson, chief burgess of Lancaster, who kept it "and privately posted away one for the Church people living in and about Lancaster town . . . when they had neither church, glebe, nor any provision made for the reception of a clergyman." The communicants at Pequea outnumbered those in the borough "in a great proportion," but nonetheless the Lancaster Anglicans thought that the borough should have an Episcopal minister of its own. Despite the merits of the case, from the point of view of numbers, the Reverend Mr. Locke did establish his headquarters in Lancaster, as did his successors.<sup>19</sup>

When they had no religious services of their own, individuals of one Protestant congregation were not averse to attending those of another. Sundays required a sermon; and for many persons it seemed not to matter particularly whence it originated. And if there developed the choice of going without an essential sacrament or receiving it from the hands of a minister from outside the faith, the latter alternative was apt to be chosen. The Rev. Henry Muhlenberg frequently noted in his journal that whenever he preached at the Lutheran Church in Lancaster his audiences were composed not only of members of the congregation but "people of other religious persuasions" as well. In June, 1749, he preached a sermon for Anglicans at the Lutheran Church, "because they had no preacher and greatly desired such a service." While serving as minister to the Lutherans, the Rev. Frederick Handshuch baptized Quakers, Reformed people, and

Baptists, as well as adherents to his own faith. In October, 1749, he baptized "the child of an Englishman in his house, in presence of many English and of five Jewesses, who showed themselves very orderly and devout outwardly, so that I certainly would not have thought them to be Jewesses if it has not been told to me later." Barbara, the infant daughter of Nicholas and Catherine Hauer, members of the Lutheran congregation, was baptized by the Reformed minister in 1764; having grown up and moved to Maryland, this little girl would become known to her patriotic American posterity as Barbara Fritchie. In cases of emergency, if there was no acceptable Protestant minister to be found anywhere in the town, a member of the congregation might assume some of the duties of a pastor, as did the Lutheran schoolmaster, who conducted at least one funeral in 1749.<sup>20</sup>

The relations between the church members and the pastors in the Protestant churches of the borough reveal the sovereignty of the congregation; ministers could be shepherds only with the consent of their sheep, who maintained a close scrutiny over the sermons, doctrines, ministry, and personal conduct of their spiritual guardians. If the minister was not to the liking of the majority of the congregation, they let him go, though sometimes with acrimonious dissension. The ministers of the German churches, an Anglican visitor in the borough noted with surprise, were allowed no fixed stipend for preaching, "but are paid at the will of their hearers. This is a great tie upon them to do their duty and makes them more diligent than our clergymen. Happy people! In this we may envy them." Members of the Reformed congregation experienced particular difficulty in getting along with their ministers. Soon after his arrival, the Rev. Bartholomew Rieger fell into strained relations with his flock, not only because of his flirtations with Moravianism, but essentially because of his suspected heterodoxy. This pompous and pretentious man, as he is alleged to have been, possessed some strange notions, refusing to baptize children, and publicly teaching that men could be saved in any religion. A violent upheaval occurred within the congregation in 1750 over the pastoral qualities of the Rev. Mr. Ferdinand Vock, "an old minister" secured by the church in January of that year. That Vock was "everywhere in evil repute because of his conduct" doubtless accounts for the fact that many members of the congregation disapproved of his ministry. The pastor gave what was reportedly a "farewell sermon" in July, "weeping that the people would no longer have him." Two factions had formed within the church membership, however, one for, the other against, the minister. On one occasion, certain women of the congregation, "at the Command of their Husbands, fought stoutly [*brav*] with one another about the Pastor, and those who were for the Minister held the Field." The vanquished party gained control of the church building, however, and for a while refused to permit Vock

and his supporters to use it. They soon quietly relented, though, and at the end of the year the dispute was resolved when Vock's contract expired and he left the borough.<sup>21</sup>

Another eruption occurred within the Reformed congregation in the 1760's concerning the ministry of the Rev. William Hendel. The faction opposed to him charged that he did not visit the school often enough, that he did not catechize the children every Sunday, that he deprived the congregation of sustained spiritual guidance by serving the church at Pequea as well—some members of the congregation hoped that without a minister Pequea might be forced to join with them and increase their financial resources—and that he kept many children from the Lord's Supper. From the minister's point of view, the disaffected consisted merely of seven or eight men in the church, "some of them officers of the congregation and all of them self-willed and obstinate men, who in a very rude manner found fault with the best and sincere performance of his duties, and thereby constantly caused him vexation." As far as visits to the school were concerned, he professed that his attentions were adequate but agreed nonetheless to visit it each week if possible. He could not catechize every Sunday because of his trips to Pequea and Tulpehocken. On the question of his service to Pequea, Hendel thought it unreasonable that people living twelve miles from Lancaster, many of them old and infirm, should be left uncared for; he did agree, however, to give one-half of his Pequea salary to the Lancaster church. As for the charge of keeping "many children" from communion, Hendel replied that it had never been done but for the "weightiest reasons"; and the disgruntled party decided to let the minister follow his own mind in this matter. Although an elder reported that the majority of the people in the congregation were satisfied with Hendel, the Coetus offered him another charge, which he accepted. The opposition to the minister had been led by William Bausman, a prominent trader of the borough, and it may be that a desire to conciliate the most influential members of the congregation led to the decision of the Coetus.<sup>22</sup>

Although disputes with the minister were less frequent and volatile in the Lutheran congregation, they did erupt. Nyberg's heterodoxy produced a great schism within that society, a rent which proved difficult to repair. Despite the great industry, piety, and unselfishness of Nyberg's successor, the Reverend Mr. Handshuch (who according to Henry Muhlenberg labored in Lancaster "*Drei Jahre mit unverdrossener Fleisz und True*"), his marriage to his housekeeper, the daughter of one of the church deacons, evoked a torrent of opposition in which some of the more prominent members of the congregation stopped attending services and withdrew their financial support from the minister. As a result, Handshuch was recalled from the church. In 1763, delegates from the congregation informed the



Ministerium that they would be happy to see their current pastor, Mr. Gerock, "exchange with somebody for a time," first because the difficulty of erecting a church building made it a strain to support him, and secondly because many of the members of the congregation did not wish to give the full amount they subscribed for the minister's salary; "everything was too cold in the congregation," according to the complainants, and Gerock did not make pastoral visits. This dispute was resolved, however, for Gerock remained an additional four years.<sup>23</sup>

Not long after the Anglican congregation secured the services of the Reverend Mr. Locke, leading members of the church fell out with him. "I must needs say," wrote a correspondent to the S.P.G. in May, 1747, "there are some among them who have got into commissions with the government, and who have not religion much at heart; nay who despise Mr. Locke, a regular, sober, good man, and never go to public worship with him, or maintain a friendly, kind Christian-like intercourse or correspondence with him; who yet set themselves up as the head of the congregation, and brag to a certain doctor member of the [S.P.G.] who will give credit to their representations, . . . and who will bring about everything at the honorable board according to their desire and approbation." The reason behind this feud between Locke and some of his parishioners is not apparent; it may have stemmed partly from the resentment expressed within the congregation that the rector shared his time with other parishes. In June, 1747, Locke was reportedly "not now preaching" to the congregation, and in the following year he left the borough. Nearly ten years later, a dispute broke out between the new minister, the Reverend Mr. Craig, and the vestry. Customarily, the two churchwardens were chosen from the ranks of the vestry, the minister selecting one, and the vestry (itself elected by the congregation), naming the second. In April, 1756, Mr. Craig chose a warden who was not a vestryman, thus provoking strong opposition within the vestry, which objected "that they did not look upon it to be regular. . . ." When the minister refused to give in, the vestry voted to maintain the incumbent wardens. The issue arose again in each of the ensuing two years. In the first year, the vestry resolved "to abide by their old and former rules," and appointed both wardens, who were kept in office the following year. Further dissension arose when Craig, with "no Minute of Vestry," made a notation in the vestrybook that rates levied on the pews would be used for the support of the minister; Craig explained that "he thought that was the design of rating the pews." When the Rev. Thomas Barton arrived to serve as rector in 1761, harmony between the minister and the vestry was restored; the pastor agreed to make his choice of a warden from among the vestrymen.<sup>24</sup>

If the congregations exerted their sovereignty through the payment and

close surveillance of their ministers, the latter frequently found it necessary to restore ecclesiastical order in their churches. De facto congregationalism and disorderliness, manifested by a tendency among the faithful to follow their own spiritual notions, and bred of long periods without ministration, were objects of concern to and scrutiny by the pastors. When he arrived to shepherd the scattering Lutheran flock in 1748, the Reverend Mr. Handshuch announced that “all the men and young lads” who desired “to hold faithfully to the church”—a reference to the problem of defections to the Moravians—must accept eight points, drawn up by resolution of the church council, and required of all “who desired to be members of the congregation and enjoy the rights of the congregation.” Included in the “points” was one requiring each member of the church to have his name publicly recorded by the schoolmaster. Members in good standing must acknowledge and “act in loving obedience” to the church council and wardens. The young people must not come to church services in levity, and must attend instruction more diligently. At funerals drinking must be moderate. Finally, everyone was to retain “his full liberty to unite with the congregation, or to leave it again, only notice must always be given of it to the pastor.” Anyone who refused to accept these conditions was not to be regarded as a member of the congregation, nor could he receive communion in the church. Some of those who agreed to these terms were persons who had helped to build the ecumenical church of St. Andrew. One defector was not permitted back into the fold, because he had helped to bury a leading Moravian and “when he was called to account for it, replied forthrightly [*deutsch geantwortet hat*].” Handshuch appears to have been somewhat successful in restoring order in the congregation, but complete harmony and propriety was impossible of attainment. “For what Lancaster needs,” said the Rev. Henry Muhlenberg in despair of the Lutherans there, “is a Jeremiah who is able to hold out to the end and save the few who wait for the hope of Israel.”<sup>25</sup>

Similar efforts toward improved church order were made by pastors of the Reformed congregation. As a condition for remaining as minister, the Rev. Philip Otterbein demanded in 1757 “the exercise of a just ecclesiastical discipline, the abolition of all indifferent appearances, and entire liberty of conscience in the performance of his pastoral duties.” Those persons who wished to be considered church members had to sign an agreement prefaced by the observation that “Inasmuch as for some time our congregation have proceeded somewhat irregularly, and since we, under these circumstances, do not properly know who they all are who acknowledge themselves members of our Church, especially among those who reside out of town, we, minister and officers of the Church, have taken this matter into consideration, and find it necessary to request that everyone who calls

himself a member of our Church, and who is concerned to lead a Christian life, should come forward and subscribe his name" to a rule of order. Members were to subject themselves to "a becoming Christian church discipline" and thus to show "respectful obedience to minister and officers in things that are proper." To eliminate disorders, and to better enable the minister to know who were members of the congregation, persons expecting to receive communion had to appear personally before the pastor prior to the preparation service "for the purpose of an interview." "No one by this arrangement will be deprived of his liberty," the agreement concluded, "or be in any way bound. This [rule of order] we deem necessary to the preservation of order, and it is our desire that God may bless it to this end. Whoever is truly concerned to grow in grace will not hesitate to subscribe his name."<sup>26</sup>

#### -IV-

Attendance at sermons and participation in other services and activities of the churches provided for Lancastrians an important agency of religious fulfillment and social intercourse. Although the Anglicans and Roman Catholics appear to have had only one sermon on Sundays, the Protestant German congregations held two Sabbath meetings and a third one during the week; in the 1760's, indeed, the Lutheran minister preached three times on Sunday. After they were organized, the Quakers of the borough also held two meetings a week. For a few years in the 1740's, the Moravians held an English as well as a German service on Sundays. Of special religious and social significance were the Communion Sundays, when the Lutheran and Reformed church people partook of "das Heilige Abendmahl" and the Moravians joined in their "Liebesmahl" or "Love Feast." Following the Sunday afternoon sermon in these churches, it was customary to hold a children's catechizing period or "Kinderlehre." "There I have young people, adults, and children stand round about me," commented a Lutheran minister in describing one of these sessions, "who try to outdo one another in diligence." By the late 1760's, Lutheran youngsters were receiving even further instruction on Sundays. "After the Kinderlehre, around 5 p.m.," wrote the minister, "I let those children who find pleasure in it—and that is no small number—come into the schoolhouse again where I read to them several edifying biographies of pious children, or some other helpful thing, which is, I note, not without good results. The reason for these gatherings is that I keep the youngsters off the streets, where temptation is very great and everything which they have heard that day goes for nothing."<sup>27</sup>

A "famine of the Word," to employ the phrase used by an Anglican curate to describe the spiritual undernourishment of the Episcopalians in the

borough, encouraged long sermons in every church. Soon after the organization of their congregation, the Lutherans provided themselves with an hourglass, which measured the passage of one and half hours; the sermons of some of the ministers were apparently too short, however, so that in 1743 an iron rod was attached to the glass and it was elevated to the full view of preacher and listeners alike! Some of the ministers took considerable care in the preparation of their homilies. "I outline each sermon beforehand," wrote the Reverend Mr. Handshuch, "think it through, and prove it according to the word of God, as I have time. Then I speak in the name of the Master, regardless of which religion or sect a man belongs to, for my listeners come from many unheard of sects." The Rev. Thomas Barton gave his Anglican audiences logical and fervid sermons read "close," which, according to one of his parishioners, would have been "a great crime" to the Presbyterians around Lancaster, for their ministers "are not Suffer'd even to have their notes, be their Memory good or bad." Among the members of the Reformed congregation in the 1770's was a group of Canadian Indian traders who heard special sermons delivered to them in French. During the Revolutionary War, the Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian pastors all preached to the Hessian prisoners of war in Lancaster on one occasion or another. These sermons were often quite pointed in a Whiggish direction and were not always appreciated by the audience. The Rev. Mr. Albert Helfenstein, the Lutheran minister, chose as the text for one of his lectures the third verse of Isaiah: "For thus saith the Lord, you have sold yourselves for nought, and you shall be redeemed without money." <sup>28</sup>

Music was an essential aid to worship in almost all of the churches of the borough, but especially in the German Protestant congregations. One of the first concerns of these societies was to provide each of their churches with an organ. Three of the organs used in Lancaster churches during this period were constructed by the celebrated David Tanneberger of Lititz, a Moravian settlement not far to the north of the borough. The organ purchased from him by the Reformed congregation in 1769 was a two-keyboard instrument with sixteen stops.<sup>29</sup> So impressed was the Rev. Thomas Barton with the Germans' fondness for organs, he considered the lack of such an instrument at St. James's Anglican Church a deterrent to attracting more Germans to his denomination. "Many of the Lutherans who gladly embrace every opportunity to teach their Children the Religion, Manners, and Customs of England," he wrote, "would come to our Church, if we had but an Instrument to celebrate the praises of God in the manner that they have been used to." Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn, a "public-spirited gentleman" of the Lutheran persuasion, proposed to the Anglicans that they purchase a small organ for about £60, stating that he "would not



only give £5 towards it, but play for us gratis."<sup>30</sup> The Moravians used music not only as an aid to congregational worship but, in the early years, as an instrument for the propagation of their faith as well. The society held public singing lessons in German, and tried to sponsor such lessons in English. At the first of these latter gatherings, the minister noted in his diary, "there were few people present, it is true, but an exceedingly congenial Spirit was apparent [ein ungemein lieblicher Wind liess sich darinnen vernehmen]." So few persons attended the English singing lessons, however, that they were soon discontinued.<sup>31</sup>

Special religious occasions, such as Communion Sundays or the consecration of churches, were always enhanced with music, sometimes composed expressly for the purpose. At the dedication of Trinity Lutheran Church in 1766, the choir, instructed and directed by "Baron" William Henry Stiegel, owner of the glassworks at Manheim, Pennsylvania, sang verses from the hymn "Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott, erfuell mit deiner Gnade Gut," accompanied by instrumental music. During the service, "a select piece of church music" specifically arranged for the occasion by Stiegel, was also rendered. The music used during the service was printed for distribution, so that all of the participants were able to follow the choir during their performances.<sup>32</sup> Soon after the installation of a new organ in 1776, the Reformed congregation sponsored a concert of church music. "Yesterday," one of the persons in attendance wrote to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, "we had the Pleasure of hearing for the first Time, the new ORGAN, in the High Dutch Reformed Church of [Lancaster], accompanied by a Variety of Vocal Music, composed on the Occasion, which I may venture to say, not only from my own Experience, but the Approbation of all present, was never equalled in any Place of Worship in this Province, or perhaps upon this Continent." The Tanneberger organ was "much superior in Workmanship, and Sweetness of Sound, to any made by the late celebrated Mr. FEYERING," and is "worth the Attention and Notice of the Curious, who may happen to pass this Way. . . ." <sup>33</sup> During the War for Independence, and before the closing of St. James's Church, some of the officers among the English prisoners of war confined in Lancaster formed a special choir and participated in the services. "Would you believe that our church music at Lancaster exceeds anything you ever heard?" noted one member of the congregation. "It is entirely Vocal and performed by Soldiers who have been used to Singing in Cathedrals. Their voices are really heavenly, so much melody I never heard before. When they begin to sing, the whole congregation rise."<sup>34</sup>

From time to time, there occurred within certain congregations of the borough "awakenings" or periods of intense piety, with emphasis placed on deep, heart-felt religious experience. These outpourings of spiritual fervor

in Lancaster fit into that larger welling of religious enthusiasm, the "Great Awakening," which swept the colonies in several waves between the 1740's and the 1770's. There had always been a vibrant, pietistic strain among the Lutherans and Reformed of the Palatine region, not as strong as that of the Schwenkfelders, Mennonites, Baptist Brethren and other "sectarian" groups, but ever present nonetheless and likely to be brought to the surface under the impact of powerful preaching.<sup>35</sup> Other religious societies, too, showed themselves vulnerable to the same force of "enthusiasm," especially the Moravians who were truly the embodiment of pietistic faith. Whenever and wherever it broke forth, the signs of "awakening" were the same: a zealous and charismatic minister stresses for his flock the duties of personal piety; he urges his charges to examine themselves inwardly and to participate in the Lord's Supper more frequently; soon, certain "awakened" souls within the congregation begin holding private meetings for prayer, and they entreat their pastor what they must do to be saved; opponents of this heightened religiosity say that it is not true religion at all but rather the work of the devil; they are assured in reply that it is nothing less than the real Spirit of God working within regenerate men.

In Lancaster, the awakening began in the 1740's and continued, with periods of abating vitality, for the next three decades. The very appearance of the Moravians marked the beginnings of a religious revival in the borough. When Count Zinzendorf preached in the courthouse in 1742, stressing his concept of an ecumenical piety that transcended denominational barriers, his words did not fall upon deaf ears. As mentioned above, members of the Lutheran and Reformed congregations were attracted by the spiritual warmth of the *Unitas Fratrum* and embraced its principles. When these families withdrew from the established congregations, formed St. Andrew's Church, and attended private meetings for prayer (as some of them did), they were responding to a pietist impulse—not merely an "awakening" to be experienced from time to time, as would be the case with others, but a vital and permanent religious orientation to be followed to the end of their days.

In the case of other religious societies in the borough, awakenings occurred on several occasions. The town was "very much overspread with New Lights, Whitefield's followers," reported the Anglican rector in 1747, referring to the popular English divine who through his itinerant preaching helped to make the "Great Awakening" a widespread phenomenon in the colonies. The famous revivalist himself reportedly visited the borough twice, invited by the Moravians, "but he did not seem to answer their expectations." The Anglican rector, Richard Locke, complained as early as 1745 that "Thomas Cookson and others, who were looked upon as leading men of the community, and [as] being main pillars

of the congregation, never attend and join in the service with him." There is some suggestion here that Locke's preaching may have been too "enthusiastic" for some of his audience, a suggestion made even more plausible by a complaint from the minister on a later occasion that the building of the church had commenced "but by mismanagement, the leading men being too much inclined to the New Lights [new-style windows or lighting feature], they have run the parish into debt. . . ." <sup>36</sup> The rector and some parishioners apparently desired a simpler church building.

No specific suggestion exists of awakenings among the Anglicans of the borough. However, the Rev. Thomas Barton, who was obviously popular with his congregation, showed some pietistic leanings. He was, to be sure, no believer in the Calvinistic doctrine of "irresistible grace." In a sermon which may well have been given while he was rector at Lancaster—"If any man be in Christ he is a New Creature"—Barton attacked the doctrines of "instantaneous" and "irresistible" conversion and man's inability to induce such a spiritual transformation. Such a doctrine, he observed, "manifestly tends to discourage the Endeavours of Men, to introduce a lazy Inactivity and Neglect of the ordinary Means of Grace, and even to quench the blessed Spirit"; it suggests, moreover, "an Excuse for all Sin and Infidelity. . . ." Being made a "new Creature," to Barton's mind, signified that "great and thorough Change which is made in men by the Gospel, or the Christian Religion." God must assist man in this transformation, "but then we say that Man cooperates with Grace, and by the Strength he receives from this Assistance, is able to will and to do according to God's good Pleasure." That Barton, despite his espousal of an Arminian viewpoint, may have been affected by pietistic influence is suggested by his emphasis on private prayer and family worship. "I am sorry to observe," he wrote in the introduction of *The Family Prayer Book* which he issued in 1767, "that FAMILY WORSHIP is a duty too little attended to . . . . Participation in the celebration of the Eucharist is not enough; like the primitive Christians, you must be Zealous in performing the duty of private prayer. And, indeed, *private prayer* is the best preparation for Publick, as it disposes [us] for the solemn Assemblies, and frames the Heart for the Social Worship of the Church." Views such as these were similar to those being expressed in England by John Wesley, the leader of a pietist movement within the Anglican church. <sup>37</sup>

A new outburst of religious zeal occurred in Lancaster in the late 1760's and lasted through the early years of the next decade. Shortly after his settlement as minister to the Lutherans in 1769, the Rev. Mr. Henry Hel-muth observed that "it pleased God to pour out a spirit of awakening" within the town, especially among his own people. "It was a new and strange thing," he added, "among a people seemingly altogether absorbed

in worldly pursuits and pleasure." Daily, members of his congregation resorted to him inquiring as to what they must do to be saved. "The word spread and was deep and genuine." Doubtless Helmuth himself was a prime mover in this awakening. Recently arrived from Europe, he was a man of pietistic inclination and was deeply concerned over the spiritual state of a congregation grown remiss through laxity and worldliness. Some of the most reprobate persons were excluded from communion by this minister, pending evidence of the sinner's reformation.<sup>38</sup> It may well have been on Helmuth's invitation that George Whitefield, on a visit to Lancaster in 1770, preached at Trinity Lutheran Church. The famous evangelist had, by this time, lost some of his attraction. The Rev. Thomas Barton wrote to his friend Sir William Johnson, Secretary for Indian Affairs in the North, that he would find Whitefield "a good Companion but a rambling Divine. His Popularity is almost expired. There is nothing *new* in him, and without change we are soon surfeited. He has still, however, a Zeal that would qualify him for an Indian Missionary."<sup>39</sup>

In 1772, the Reverend Mr. Helmuth noted another awakening among his people. "Old dead souls come alive, crying and whining after grace. Sinners of whom I had formerly given up all hope, are now strongly moved; indeed, many among them have been converted to Christ." In this revival, twenty to forty members of the congregation began holding special meetings at each others' houses two or three times weekly, for the purpose of singing, praying, and reading a chapter of the Bible, or a selection from Johann Arndt's *Wahre Christenthum* (*True Christianity*). When there was no sermon on Sunday evenings, the group gathered to discuss the morning's homily. Helmuth did not attend these special meetings, but gave him all of the encouragement he could, and worked assiduously—even to the injury of his health—to foster the spreading of the evangelical spirit. He took advantage of the revival of 1772 to stress the importance of "prayer in the closet," of accepting Christ personally, and of receiving communion, which he always announced two weeks in advance, thus hoping "to test my dear Sheep right enough." During the period preparatory to communion, he advised his people to consult with him in the mornings, at which time he would speak with each individual personally "and thereby would truly know of the penetrating awakening of many souls, which would make these 14 days of otherwise tiresome labor bearable." Helmuth barred no one from communion—not even those who refused to be interviewed by him—unless he lived openly in sin. But if the minister felt that a prospective communicant was not fully aware of "godly sorrow" and not really a possessor of true faith in Jesus Christ, he might ask him to postpone the taking of the sacrament and to "seek the Lord."<sup>40</sup>

Although there is no further evidence of specific awakenings in the bor-



ough, it is very likely that while the Rev. Philip Otterbein was minister to the Reformed congregation (1752–1758) an increase of pietism occurred within that group. Otterbein was one of a group of young preachers brought over from Europe by the Rev. Michael Schlatter, the earliest leader of the Reformed church in the colonies, and the Lancaster minister placed great emphasis on heart-felt religion. The Presbyterians of the borough were clearly evangelical in persuasion. In 1769, when they and their brethren at Leacock were searching for a minister, the call went out to the New Castle, Delaware, presbytery, composed of “New Side” ministers, who favored the evangelical awakening. The Rev. Mr. John D. Woodhull, son-in-law of Gilbert Tennent, a principal promotor of the Great Awakening among colonial Presbyterians, zealously exhorted the members of the Lancaster Church, delivering his homilies without notes in the manner of the “New Side” ministers. Although no Methodist church—that denomination was an outgrowth of pietistic stirrings among English and colonial Anglicans—was established in the borough in this period, a missionary, the Rev. Joseph Pilmoor, preached at the courthouse in June, 1772, “to a small congregation of decent hearers.” Gilbert Tennent visited the borough in June, 1778, but it is not known whether he preached there. In July, 1779, “A Negro man from Cecil County, Maryland,” preached in an orchard near the home of Christopher Marshall, his audience being “sundry people” to whom he “Spoke well for an hour.”<sup>41</sup>

Whenever awakenings occurred, they caused dissension within the affected congregations. During the Lutheran revival of 1769, certain “principal men” of the congregation said that it was the work of the devil and threatened to dismiss Helmuth if he did not desist from encouraging the movement. Helmuth refused to ignore what he considered the work of the Lord. Instead, he called his opponents to a meeting and, as the first order of business, addressed “the throne of Grace” that Divine Light and direction might suffuse the conference. The effect of this prayer upon the remonstrators was remarkable! The “spirit of God” enveloped the opposition, so that at the conclusion of the invocation they reportedly cried out in tears, “Sir, what must we do to be saved?” Then, Helmuth reports, “the works of God in the town went on gloriously.” During the Lutheran revival of 1772 the opponents disturbed the private meetings for reading and praying by throwing stones at the houses where the gatherings were held, and reviled the evangelicals in the streets of the borough as “pietists” and “hypocrites.”<sup>42</sup> Some residents of the town objected to the revivals of religious zeal for reasons that had nothing to do with faith. In the late 1760’s such socialites as the attorney Jasper Yeates lamented that “Our Society is somewhat hurt by some religious Fits in Mrs. and Miss D\_\_\_\_\_.”<sup>43</sup>

Why “awakenings” occurred in some Lancaster congregations, and their

timing, is not easy to explain. Certainly the impact of powerful preaching by evangelical ministers cannot be discounted. It seems likely, however, that underlying factors in the local and wider environments provided a context which made some residents susceptible to enthusiastic homilies. The privatistic, unstable, avaricious milieu in which the townsmen lived may well have engendered feelings of uncertainty and guilt in people who, while maximizing their opportunities for gain, while measuring their success by the enlargement of their material substance, felt uneasy about it. On the other hand, to the extent that the awakening appealed to non-affluent residents, heightened religiosity may have served as a surrogate for worldly achievement. The outpourings of religious fervor could also have been the response of an immigrant people trying to cope with new surroundings. Evidence concerning the relationship between an individual's position in the socio-economic layering and his response to the awakening is scanty and inconclusive. The Reverend Mr. Helmuth's encounter with the "principal men" of the Lutheran congregation suggests that persons of high status may have been opposed to the new spiritual ardor; but its capacity to excite even well-to-do Lancastrians is indicated by Jasper Yeates's lament concerning the social slump in the late 1760's.

-V-

The religious intolerance manifested within the religious congregations of the borough was to be seen as well in relations between the members of different denominations. When the town proprietor assigned a lot to the Roman Catholics for their church the matter became an election issue. Samuel Blunston "trumpeted about" Lancaster County that "James Hamilton had given a Lot of Ground in the Town of Lancaster to a Roman Catholick Priest to build a Roman Chappel and that he was a great favourer of Jews and Roman Catholicks."<sup>44</sup> If the burning of the Roman Catholic mission in 1760 was the work of an arsonist, as it was widely believed, it was a further manifestation of bigotry. Certainly the rhetorical and physical attacks made upon the Moravians when they appeared in the borough did nothing to encourage tolerance. In the late 1760's, the Anglicans of the borough appear to have fallen under a cloud of suspicion, probably on account of the fears engendered by the proposal that a bishop be provided for the American colonies. This was not a purely religious issue, but one which many people believed to involve a threat to the political liberties of dissenting Protestants as well. "I humbly conceive," the Rev. Thomas Barton wrote to officers of the S.P.G. in 1769, "there are many Pamphletts to be found in England, wrote formerly in Defence of the Church, which, by being republished here and put into proper Hands,

might be attended with beneficial Consequences." Barton advised the society to collect "a few of the most sensible and dispassionate [writings], and send to me by the earliest Opportunity. They will certainly be of use." It may be that the rector's request for this literature was made with a view to proselytizing rather than to combatting anti-Anglican sentiment.<sup>45</sup>

Despite the evidence of bigotry, and although the congregations were forced by circumstances to concentrate on their own problems, there are proofs that an increasingly more tolerant spirit existed in the borough and led to occasional cooperation among the churches in the furtherance of common Christian endeavors. The sermons by Count Zinzendorf, George Whitefield, and other pietist preachers brought together a *mélange* of sectarian and "church" people, English and German. Moreover, individuals of liberal outlook and ample means sometimes maintained pews in more than one church. Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn, and the innkeeper Matthias Slough, erstwhile members of the Lutheran congregation, paid rates on a pew in St. James's Anglican Church left vacant by the death of Thomas Cookson. Although he was a vestryman at St. James's, Edward Shippen was active in the organization of the Presbyterian Church in the borough. Faced with the need to draw upon financial resources larger than they could muster themselves, the borough congregations sometimes appealed to their neighbors for help in raising their church buildings or making improvements on them. When the parishioners of the Anglican Church sponsored a lottery to finance the building of a steeple in 1761 they appealed to "their fellow Christians," and among the managers of the raffle were the Lutherans Adam Simon Kuhn and Matthias Slough. Occasionally, two congregations of the borough united to hold a lottery for individual purposes; the aforementioned lottery of 1761 was sponsored jointly by the Anglican and Reformed congregations, the latter hoping to raise enough money to build a schoolhouse. A subscription sponsored by the Anglicans to provide a bell for the church steeple brought contributions from members of almost all of the congregations in the town.<sup>46</sup> When the Roman Catholic chapel burned in 1760, an interdenominational committee from the borough placed a notice in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* offering a reward of £20 for the apprehension of the person or persons responsible for the deed, and members of several of the churches of the town contributed towards the building of the new chapel.<sup>47</sup> During the French and Indian War, "all the religious societies and even the Roman Catholics, although burdened with the expense caused by rebuilding their chapel, aided *all suffering* from Indian barbarity, by *liberal* contributions and kind attentions."<sup>48</sup> The Rev. Thomas Barton, the Anglican rector, delivered a discourse at the dedication of Trinity Lutheran Church in 1766, and four years later, the ministers participating in the Lutheran

Synodical conference at Lancaster invited Barton to join them at dinner. When the Anglican rector's wife died in 1774 "all denominations of people seemed to follow as mourners," and the Reverend Mr. Helmuth of Trinity Church delivered "a pathetic discourse which suited the occasion. . . ." <sup>49</sup> Perhaps the most impressive evidence of this growing sense of Christian fellowship was the cooperation displayed by the ministers of almost all the churches in the borough, but especially the German ones, in the establishment of Franklin College, an institution founded partly on ecumenical motives, in 1787. (See Chapter Eleven.) All of these examples of interfaith cooperation, inchoate and sporadic to be sure, were nonetheless reflections on a small scale of that increasing religious toleration, that respect for the private rights of conscience, which came more and more to be a defining characteristic of colonial American Christianity and which would be a hallmark of the developing American republic.





## CHAPTER TEN

# *Engellanders and Dutchmen*

THE fact of ethnic diversity—the presence of English, Irish, Germans, and Negroes in the borough—meant the Lancastrians would have to work hard to achieve a sense of community, more diligently than if the town had been ethnically homogeneous. It is true that, despite their varying backgrounds, almost all of the residents shared the values of orderly society, which required certain restrictions on individual behavior within the town, the establishment of churches, and the opening of schools. All of them shared, too, the desire to get on in life, to take advantage of whatever opportunities might come their way. But common general aims and close proximity of habitation were not guarantees of tolerance. Ethnic rivalry, prejudice and sometime open conflict existed.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to the creation of a sense of community in Lancaster was the cultural dissimilarity between its British and German families. Settled in the midst of a somewhat alien culture, among people who spoke a different tongue, the Germans attempted to make the necessary adjustments and, at the same time, to hold on to their unique identity as a people. The British residents, for the most part intolerant of differences and inclined to regard the Germans as “dumb” and comical, expected conformity with their language and culture. To be sure, some of the Germans seemed willing to shed their inherited cultural mantle and to become like the “Engellanders.” Such persons avidly learned the new language (and saw that their children quickly learned it too), joined the Anglican Church (or at least maintained a pew there), and married British people. Most of the Germans, however, were steadfast in their refusal to relinquish anything but what was absolutely necessary of their language and customs; cultural pluralism rather than uniformity was their desire. The result of these differences in behavior and attitudes was a community that was neither wholly British nor wholly German in character, but rather a mixture of the two cultures.

In the day-to-day mingling of the inhabitants of the borough, and as a result of more formalized associations in business, in the professions, and in marriage, the potential for better mutual understanding was furthered. And as that process went on, the basis for a sense of community was being more firmly established.

## -II-

Apart from the pursuit of trade and politics, residents of the town found opportunities to mingle in more purely social activities. "Wee have no Back Gammon Tables nor Long pipes to amuse," wrote Thomas Cookson in describing the outlets for entertainment in Lancaster in 1744. Nearly thirty years later, another inhabitant made the same observation in a different manner when he echoed a friend's lament concerning "the Want of Society in the Country." The borough could, it is true, offer only a modest portion of the social diet served up in a Philadelphia or a New York. There were few "assemblies" (dances) and no turtle dinners or theatres to satisfy unusual gastronomic and other tastes, though fresh oysters might be sent up from Philadelphia on occasion as a special delicacy for inland sorts. The religious sentiments of many of the inhabitants proscribed improvident and impious gaiety, and the religious "awakenings" recurring from the 1740's strengthened the mood of sobriety and austerity. Moreover, the constricted economic circumstances of many Lancastrians meant that their energies were devoted mainly to the problem of making a living. And the richer sort, who could afford a luxurious style of life, were too few in number to support glamorous entertainment on a sustained basis. Although social fare was, for the most part, served plain, the town was not without its diversions.<sup>1</sup>

Taverns and inns, abundantly available in Lancaster because of its location at a crossroads for well-travelled colonial highways, were the chief centers of conviviality. Such hostelries as the Quaker Peter Worrall's "Sign of the White Horse," "The Cross Keys," "The King of Prussia," "The Lancaster Coffee-House," "The Indian Queen," and others offered their patrons a place to discuss the events of the day, to talk politics with friends and travelers, to read a newspaper (or, more likely, to listen to one being read), to play "a rubber of whist," a game of billiards or shuffleboard, and to quaff English or German beer, rum, punch, a "Schling," or a good, stiff "Toddy." The town's most affluent gentlemen found George Gibson's "Sign of the Crown and Three Horses," one of the oldest taverns in the town, a proper place for their entertainment; and they continued to favor their genial host when he moved to "The Sign of the Three Tons" in 1743. Edward Shippen and other local bigwigs enjoyed Gibson's hospitality, and at court times most of "the Bench" could be found there in the evenings enjoying "a dinner and club." When Gibson retired from the publican's life in the 1760's, Matthias Slough's "White Swan," a regular stage rest for travelers, received his patrons; during court terms "the Bench" now convened there of an evening and such local notables as Jasper Yeates and the "retired" Mr. Gibson frequently called upon Mein Thriving German Host

to accommodate their "tavern frolics." For those persons who had formerly enjoyed a taste of the high life of Philadelphia, such gatherings helped to alleviate somewhat "the Want of Society in the Country"; and as Yeates observed, "Were it not for a Club Night at Slough's in which we contrive to make up a friendly Party at Whist, and the constant Round of Courts in the Province, I might say . . . justly enough, that we live in the Woods."<sup>2</sup> For the more cosmopolitan gentlemen, however, this sort of entertainment was not satisfactory. "I am sorry to say," remarked the wife of Joseph Shippen, Jr., when the couple moved to Lancaster in the 1780's, "this place does not suit [my husband's] turn of mind. The Gentlemen here have no Society but at Taverns, and that manner of life he never did like . . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Everyone looked forward to and enjoyed those "Public Times" which were associated with the administrative and economic functions of the borough. Court terms, occurring in February, May, August, and November always attracted a large influx of visitors to the town, intent not only on observing the workings of justice but also on finding a bargain at the many shops or on making social calls on their co-religionists and other friends. Borough and county election days, held in September and October, respectively, were also welcomed holidays, though the boisterousness which was the inevitable accompaniment of balloting encouraged many people to stay at home on these occasions. To go "a Fairing" was the most festive entertainment in the borough. Twice each year, in June and October, townsmen and countryfolk, bigwigs, lesser ones, and those who could afford nothing more than their own hair jostled each other before the many tables and booths set up along King and Queen streets. Money saved for months before quickly disappeared in exchange for silks and laces, calicoes, trinkets, jewelry, sweetmeats, and gingerbread. On every corner, ropedancers, mountebanks, and purveyors of other amusements held sway. Many a courtship began or blossomed into true love on these occasions, when few girls could refuse an invitation to go "Fairing"; and a lad was expected to take his favorite girl (or several, if he was of a capricious disposition) to enjoy the many attractions.<sup>4</sup>

Holidays and other special occasions were always the signal for sociability and merrymaking. Governor James Hamilton, visiting his town in 1749, was saluted with "the peeling of Bells, illumination of Windows, and much shooting." A similar display accompanied news of the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766. During the celebration of the King's birthday in the same year, officers from a detachment of the Royal Highlanders stationed in the borough marched their men from the barracks to the center of town, "where the healths of the King, Queen, Prince, and Royal Family were drunk under the discharge of three vollies." Afterward, the officers entertained "the principal Inhabitants" with an elegant dinner at Slough's; this



was, remarked one observer, "an Afternoon spent with the utmost Cheerfulness, and at Night the Barracks, and several Houses of the Town, were illuminated." Ascension Day was "a great holiday" among the German residents.<sup>5</sup>

Lancastrians whose religious scruples did not preclude it found dancing a pleasant form of recreation. In May, 1766, Jasper Yeates paid the silversmith John Epple "my Club on a little Dance at his House, including 1s.11d. to the Fiddlers." More brilliant assemblies were held in connection with Provincial or other proceedings in Lancaster. During the Indian conference of 1744, the Governor of Pennsylvania, the commissioners from Maryland and Virginia, "and the gentlemen of the several colonies, with sundry inhabitants of this town," attended a "ball" at the courthouse given by James Hamilton, who opened it "by dancing two minutes [minuets] with two of the ladies here, which last danced wilder time than any Indians." "Two Germans" equipped with a harp and a fiddle supplied the music for the occasion. In the course of the evening, the revelers enjoyed "a large and elegant supper"; and although the dancing concluded at midnight some of the younger participants lingered on until one in the morning. Occasionally, visiting military officers regaled themselves and the first families of the town with dances. While passing through Lancaster on the way to Fort Pitt in 1768, the officers of the Royal Irish "gave a ball to the Ladies which was conducted with the utmost decorum."<sup>6</sup>

Those residents who sought to improve their social grace through instruction in the Terpsichorean rites found it difficult to do so at first. A dancing school kept at the courthouse closed in 1754 on account of "the great offence of the Sober part of the Inhabitants of this County as well as to the Damage of the said House." Edward Shippen, whose rotundity did not prevent him from executing a fine cobbler's jig, tried seven years later to persuade a dancing master from Philadelphia "to come up and spend a month or two in the Governor's famous Borough of Lancaster" where he might "teach our rising Generation to make their Honour at Least," but he appears to have been unsuccessful in his efforts. In 1763, some gentlemen of the borough advertised their desire for "A Dancing Master of good Address," "a Person well qualified to undertake so polite a Branch of Education which has been recommended by some of the best Writers." Soon afterwards, a Mr. Walsh arrived in the town to teach the minuet, country dances, jigs, hornpipes, and other popular steps. He more than satisfied his patrons, who "thought he had done his Duty to the Town, for all his Scholars danced very genteely and performed beyond all our Expectations." Not long after this, Mr. Henry McNeil offered instruction in the dance to such eager students as the attorney Jasper Yeates and his sister, Kitty Ewing.<sup>7</sup>

Interestingly enough, during the years of the War for Independence Lancaster's "society" abounded, revealing at the same time the selfishness and irresponsibility of some of the town's leaders. In 1774, when the Continental Congress halted American trade with England and called for a general observance of austerity in the colonies, the local committee of the Association urged the populace to observe a due solemnity during the "troubled times." Accordingly, when a new dancing school opened in the borough, the Committee prevailed upon the master to "break up and discontinue" the enterprise. But among the genteel families of Lancaster the mood of righteous austerity was short-lived, and an unprecedented round of dances, dinners, and other entertainment prevailed, much to the disapproval of the more sober and more staunchly patriotic residents. "If it was not Sunday," one of the Philadelphians temporarily residing in the borough wrote to her husband in the winter of 1777-78, "I would tell you how many Balls and Hops we have had at this place . . . ." Thomas Wharton, President of Pennsylvania, sponsored an affair in October, 1777, which, according to one archpatriot, included "Scarcely any other but a percell of Tories in this place, some of them inhabitants and some who reside here from Philada." Baron von Steuben, en route to Valley Forge to instruct Continental forces in the art military, attended one of these wartime assemblies and found special delight in conversing with the German ladies and girls of the town in their native tongue; on this occasion, *by the way* was a handsome supper, and the company did not break up until 2 of the bo

The *by the way* flabourate of the wartime frolics occurred in February, 1778, as patriot *by the way* suffered at Valley Forge. Everyone in town who was considered to be important was invited, and the sponsors—seeking to provide clerical benediction for the occasion—even requested the Lutheran and Reformed ministers to attend. But the clergymen demurred, noting that it would be out of character for them to attend such an assembly and that such untimely revelry was considered scandalous by their congregations, who comprised the greatest number of the residents of the town. With their regrets, the two ministers enclosed a piece written by them and signed "PHILANTHROPI." Here, they confronted the organizers of the dance directly:

Since it is one of the Prerogatives of Mankind by which they are distinguished from irrational Beings, to have a Sense of Compassion at the Distresses of their Fellow Creatures, it is strange for Men to play away in this Time of Distress whole Hours and Nights in Companys where they feast perhaps to Excess, play and dance. How to account for such behaviour we hardly know, for it is certain Heathens would not act worse; and how more unbecoming it is for such, who call themselves Professors of the Religion of our tender and most compassionate Saviour. The

thoughtless may place us on the wrong side of the Question, in making such a Work about their innocent Diversions, as they call them; but if we err, a very Venerable body of our legislative power keeps us company. It is well known that Congress has resolved, that such Diversions should subside during the present Calamity. And if the precepts of Christianity, human Compassion and Feeling have no weight with you, you at least should show so much discretion, as not to make others think you unfriendly to the Cause of your country, by despising openly, what your Superiors so wisely and earnestly recommend to you. Retire for a moment from your Vanity, and we hope arguments of more Weight will be suggested within your own Breast against this very unbecoming behaviour.

Despite the well-placed criticism of the ministers—who apologized, ironically, for their “want of familiarity with the English language”—the “Ball” went forward. A band composed of Hessian prisoners played until 5 A.M., and after that some of the people in attendance went “a Slaying.” The outraged Christopher Marshall counted six “balls” or assemblies in Lancaster between January and March, 1778.<sup>9</sup>

Some of the wartime entertainment was sponsored by the British officers confined to the borough as prisoners of war. They openly flirted with the girls of the town, much to the displeasure of young Americans. In August, 1779, “as some officers were sitting at the doors with ladies . . . (which is the custom in this country) . . . several rascals flung stones and threatened to beat them if they remained out after 9 at night.” Not long hence this, some of the officers received permission to go to the Susquehanna River “with a party of girls” for a day’s outing. These military meements of usually invited to the “Balls” and “Hops” given in Lancaster; on one occasion, however, when “the Mohairs (*aliter* Town Bucks)” hinted at giving a dance from which the officers would be excluded, the latter resolved “to be beforehand with them,” gave their own “hop” at which “all the ladies in town were present,” and followed it with several more during the period of their confinement in the borough. At least one of the officers married a local girl.<sup>10</sup>

The news of patriot victories during the war occasioned numerous celebrations. Great excitement and a generally festive mood followed the reports of General Burgoyne’s surrender in 1777. “It is a glorious Event,” noted a correspondent of General Edward Hand. “History records but few equal to it. This is throwing Sixes; if we can but throw another pair at Philada. we shall Gammon them.” The town was illuminated and the leading citizens gathered for a “Cold Collation” at the courthouse, to the accompaniment of drums and fifes. Similar rejoicing took place when Lancastrians learned that France had recognized the independence of the United States, formed an alliance with the new nation, and declared war

on England. "On the news of taking Cornwallis" in 1781, Sarah Yeates wrote to her husband that "our Town looked Beautiful with the Illuminations, the Colours flying, Canon and small arms fireing, and the young fellows of the Town parading the streets with Laurel in their hats." But this was a time for sober reflection, too, as Jasper Yeates reminded his wife in noting that events at Yorktown "affords me the Dawn of a Peace. This Idea is more pleasing to me than any other Circumstance, tho' I feel much satisfaction at the rising Glories of America." At the official proclamation of peace by the Sheriff in 1784, a special exhibition of paintings—presumably of subjects dealing with the war—opened at the courthouse. "We have no Fire Works," observed one participant in the festivities of the day, "as we wish not in this Particular to Pursue the Philada. Precedent. I think the Exhibition will have a pleasing Effect."<sup>11</sup>

Apart from holidays, or the events connected with war, there were particular entertainments to delight particular tastes. "A Party of Pleasure at the River" or a trip to Blackpool in the Jerseys proved popular weekend activities for Lancastrians seeking the pleasures of rustic or seaside merriment. Lovers of horseracing found opportunities to pursue the kingly sport at spring meetings staged in or near the town. These contests attracted men, women, and youngsters of all classes. In 1769, Jasper Yeates paid 5s. "for Places for my Sister and Niece in [Anthony Snyder's] Gallery at the last Horse Race in Town . . . ." Subscriptions collected from the *aficianados* provided the purses offered at the races. Bull baits were held in the vicinity of the borough and attracted some of its residents.<sup>12</sup>

A few new forms of recreation, and the first formal associations, appeared in Lancaster in the 1770's and afterward. Casting about for some means to divert themselves, the British officers confined in town during the war "bethought them of the drama." With permission, they converted a local brewery to a theatre where they presented Shakespeare. Some of the most prominent people of the borough attended these performances and continued the thespian vogue after the war; Jasper Yeates's daughter, Molly, portrayed the character of Maria in *The Tragedy of Cato* in 1783. Ethnic celebrations and fraternal organizations emerged at this time. In the spring of 1781, Christopher Marshall watched approximately thirty "of what's call'd St. Patrick's men," with effigies and drums, parade through town—a sure testament to organized Hibernianism. After one false start, and almost a year of preparation, a group of Lancaster men formed a Masonic lodge in 1785.<sup>13</sup>

For their quiet hours, not a few Lancastrians found music a pleasant pastime. During the Indian conference of 1744, several of the gentlemen visitors called upon Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn, who had recently procured an organ, "but it was with the greatest importunity he would favor us with playing a tune, telling us that unless he himself was possessed with a strong



desire to play, he could oblige nobody." The reluctant physician eventually complied, however, "and strummed over three or four High-Dutch psalm tunes to which he sang the words in the most enthusiastic raptures." The delights of the harpsichord were well known to Edward Shippen and the shopkeeper James Ralfe, both of whom possessed instruments of that sort. There were a number of fiddlers in the town who were called upon to display their talents at local dances, as well as on other occasions. Music was a treasured recreation, a delightful way, indeed, to end the labors of a busy day. On a visit to the borough, the Rev. Henry Muhlenberg recorded in his diary a scene that must have charmed anyone who witnessed it: two young members of the Lutheran congregation welcoming nightfall "by blowing two horns from the roof of their house. They played the melody of 'Seelen-Brautigam' ['The Soul's Bridegroom'], which heard from the distance in the quiet of evening, gave the impression as if it were an echo from heaven."<sup>14</sup>

### - III -

Living in such close proximity to one another, the English-and German-speaking residents of the borough were brought into daily contact with each other. For most people such interaction was only very casual, due to prejudice, suspicion, and the open conflict which occasionally erupted. A number of the cases involving assault brought before the courts (see page 73) were generated by ethnic rivalries. Through the years, however, and especially at the upper social and economic levels of society, more frequent and substantial intermingling took place.

Death, the sad reminder of a common mortality, frequently elicited expressions of sympathy and respect between Engellanders and Dutchmen. The funeral rites for an infant son of the prosperous shopkeeper, Bernard Hubley, were attended by an "extraordinary" number of mourners, including many friends "and also English people." When Mrs. Margaret Cookson, wife of the first chief burgess, died in 1749, she was buried in the graveyard of the Lutheran Church—the Cooksons were actually Anglicans—following "a large funeral, of all classes of people."<sup>15</sup>

At the highest levels of society, Shippens, Sloughs, Rosses, Yeateses, Kuhns, Hubleys, and other families from the British and German groups came to know each other well, to work together, and to respect each other's qualities. Yeates's "Little Circle" of close friends included Paul Zantzinger, shopkeeper, and his newlywed wife in 1769; soon, however, Zantzinger was persuaded by his frugal spouse to stay at home "lest his Substance should be consumed"; she thought it "bad Oeconomy in him to frequent Taverns or his Friends Houses." Any dances attended by the "principal Inhabitants" of Lancaster included British and German families of rank; the "Lancaster Assembly" of 1780 attracted Hubleys, Sloughs, Yeateses,

Whitmers, Parrs, Zantzingers, and Baileys. Religious worship often brought the members of both groups together; Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn and Matthais Slough rented the pew in St. James's Anglican Church which became vacant on the death of Thomas Cookson, and in later years Paul Zantzing, George Graff, hatter, and Matthias Bartgis, printer, followed their example.<sup>16</sup> In some instances, members of the two groups came to associate through professional interests and training. The attorney George Ross taught the law to Caspar Weitzel, son of the baker Paul Weitzel, and successfully recommended him to the Court of Quarter Sessions in 1769. Soon after that, John Hubley, son of the shopkeeper Bernard Hubley, was admitted to the bar on the recommendation of his mentor Jasper Yeates, who afterwards also trained Jacob Hubley, John's brother.<sup>17</sup>

Ultimately, the vows of marriage occasioned even stronger connections between the British and German residents of Lancaster. Mary Gibson, granddaughter of the tavenkeeper George Gibson, married the hosteler Matthias Slough. Scottish and German blood were mingled when Matthias Graeff, hatter, wed Margaret Moore in 1769; and it was rumoured at about the same time that the young advocate Caspar Weitzel, and Betsy Carr, member of a prominent English family, were "very fond of each other" and "very soon to make a match of it." Soon after his admission to the bar, Jacob Hubley married Margaret Burd, the daughter of Colonel James Burd, and a granddaughter of Edward Shippen. In the examples given here, it should be noted the partners' common high status in the Lancaster community was more important to their families than their ethnic background.<sup>18</sup>

As close Anglo-German contacts became more frequent, especially through marriage, some of the leaders of the German community became critical, essentially because they sensed a threat to the integrity of their culture. The Rev. G. H. E. Muhlenberg, pastor of the Lutheran Church in the 1780's, opposed marriage between British people and Germans, essentially, it would seem, for religious reasons. In one of his journal entries for 1786, he noted regretfully that many of the most prominent young men of the congregation married women of English background, some of whom, he stated, were not even baptized! Such unions, he believed, alienated the young men from the church and language of their fathers, and placed the Lutheran faith in danger of sustaining considerable local losses. This was certainly a case of exaggeration and alarmism on Muhlenberg's part, but he expressed a fear that was regarded as real by other Germans of the community as well.<sup>19</sup>

Interaction between the British and German people is reflected at a more subtle level as well—in the telling realm of language. German was the principal tongue heard on the streets of Lancaster; and many of those who spoke it wished to keep this most obvious badge of their cultural

uniqueness. In 1788, for example, the vestry of Trinity Lutheran Church resolved "That its proceedings should be conducted in the German language, until the majority should consent to the introduction of the English." Yet, the Germans were surrounded by English laws and English institutions, which they had to come to terms with and to understand. The many new experiences which they encountered could be expressed through the native tongue in many instances, but it often happened that new words had to be found to express new concepts. As a result, a unique blending of languages soon evolved. This development took place most rapidly, perhaps, in the domain of business. Readers of the *Pennsylvanische Berichte* learned, as early as the 1750's that George Gibson, the Lancaster tavern keeper, had for sale "ein Haus und Lot, . . . das ist sehr bequem vor einen *Shapp-Kiepper* (Kramer) oder Handwercksmann." John Miller, a blacksmith and one-time business associate of William Henry and Joseph Simon, recorded in his ledger on more than one occasion that he had "*gesettelt*" (that is, "settled") some part of his accounts, and noted the amounts for which he was still "schuldig auff *settlement*" (outstanding for settlement). The same process of linguistic interchange pervaded speech "unsere Societat hatte eine *meeting*"; or he recorded the occurrence of "die grosse *Election*," and the "*Fair*." Bernard Hubley, a prosperous Lancaster shopkeeper, once ordered two thousand feet of "*babler bortt*" (poplar boards) for the construction of the new Lutheran Church. And thirsty German patrons of one of the town's ordinaries might demand "ein *boll bunsch*," "ein Rom *Schling*," or "ein *boll wine*." (All italics are mine.) From such beginnings, there gradually emerged the "Pennsylvania German" speech which can still be heard in the Lancaster region today.<sup>20</sup>

With regard to the retention of their language, the Germans found themselves in the midst of a heart-rending dilemma; however much they might stress the desirability of holding onto the mother tongue, they knew that for practical reasons they must learn English; thus they manifested no great hostility to providing such instruction for their children. Yet language was for these people a sensitive matter, and they had sympathizers among the British residents of Pennsylvania, including Benjamin Rush, who, at the dedication of a college in Lancaster in 1787, stressed the importance of a knowledge of English among the Germans but pointed out that the institution would serve also to preserve the German language "from extinction and corruption." Other persons, apparently insensitive to the feelings of the Germans—but realistic as to their future in America—urged their rapid Anglicization. The Rev. Joseph Hutchins, rector of St. James's Church, who also spoke at the dedication of the college, provoked embarrassment and uneasiness in the audience when he urged without equivocation that the new institution, as well as the other

schools of Lancaster, become the "vehicles of a more accurate and general knowledge of the English language. Whatever impediments you throw in the course of spreading this language in its true pronunciation and elegance among your children," he bluntly proclaimed, "will be so many obstructions to their future interest in private and public life, . . . to their future eminence in the public councils of America, . . . and to that national union with their fellow citizens of the United States, which the charity of the Christian, the humanity of the Philosopher, and the wisdom of the Politician, are anxiously wishing to promote." Hutchins recommended, moreover, that the Germans treat their own language as merely "secondary" and "useful."<sup>21</sup> His sentiments and those of Rush were correct, of course; the Germans would sooner or later have to accept the implications of being a minority cultural group in a predominantly British country; they would have to assimilate to a certain extent.

–IV–

Despite the real ties of friendship and blood between prominent English- and German-speaking residents, Lancaster was still essentially two ethnic communities at the end of the eighteenth century. "Engellander" and "Dutchman" were words used by the two groups to describe each other, and they conveyed not only the fact of cultural differences but high emotional content as well. The majority of the Germans, knowing that they were regarded with contempt and ridicule by many of their British neighbors, and feeling, perhaps, a certain sensitivity and self-consciousness, kept to themselves. They were suspicious of outsiders—that is, non-German residents and visitors in the town—and gave the borough a reputation for coldness to strangers. Major Winthrop Sargent, member of a surveying party which passed through the town in 1786, found it positively "unsociable. The People in this Place," he continued, "tho' neighborly amongst themselves have never been noted for civility to strangers."<sup>22</sup> What he described was not in reality a lack of hospitality among Lancastrians but rather a clannishness bred among the Germans as they reacted to an alien and somewhat hostile environment.





## CHAPTER ELEVEN

# *A Desire To Be Knowing and Useful*

ALTHOUGH Lancaster could never rival the capital city of Pennsylvania in the number of men and institutions engaged in the pursuit of knowledge and art, its inhabitants could boast of the achievements made by some of their neighbors; they could take pride, as well, in those instruments of culture—schools, printers, libraries—which appeared in their community and which, as the years advanced, reached an increasing number of people. Ordinary men and women, as well as individuals whose genius distinguished them from the generality of Lancastrians, sought to provide for the borough the means whereby the best fruits of their minds and hearts might be nourished. In this development, however, there was an element of tension as the German-speaking residents tried—against the preachments and actions of those persons for whom Anglicized homogeneity was a desirable goal—to maintain as much as possible of their cultural identity.

### –II–

The schools set up in the borough provided education of various kinds. Some of them were sponsored by the religious societies of the town and devoted primarily to the inculcation of denominational religious values, others were kept by masters who offered a secular curriculum, oriented essentially to practical instruction. In all save one of these institutions the cost of tuition had to be borne by the parents; and not until after the War for Independence could the “rising Generation” of Lancaster obtain in their own town anything beyond elementary instruction.

The church schools established by the several religious congregations of Lancaster constituted the basic and only sustained agencies for education in the town during the colonial and Confederation eras. Having made a false start at first, the German religious bodies soon managed to establish their elementary schools on a firm basis. The Reformed society conducted such an institution by 1746, when the schoolmaster complained of his meagre salary. The congregation was able to raise a schoolhouse in 1750, but the rapid expansion of enrollment required the construction of a

second one twelve years later, with money raised through a public lottery. Eighty children received instruction in the two buildings in 1765. The Lutherans re-established their school about 1747, and fifteen years later almost ninety students attended a regular schoolhouse. As soon as their congregation was organized, the Moravians commenced providing elementary instruction in a house provided for the purpose by a member of the congregation. In a very short time, these quarters were outgrown, and in 1750 a school building was erected "with the Hall as large as the one in Bethlehem [Pennsylvania]." More than likely, the Roman Catholics maintained their own school, but this is not known for sure.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to having congregations large enough to support elementary schools, the German religious bodies were fortunate in securing long and faithful service from good instructors. The "ready and gifted" Jacob Loeser, selected for the schoolmastership by the Lutherans in 1748, was still on the job twenty-five years later. John Hoffman, mentor to the youth of the Reformed Church, held his post for twenty-seven years after 1747, while brother John Niedorf was still overseeing the primary education of Moravian children fifteen years after the founding of the school. The predominantly English congregations, less numerous in membership and therefore less able to support schoolmasters, established no schools in this period. In the early years, indeed, it appears that some of the British parents, rather than have their children remain uneducated, sent them to the German schools. In 1749 the Lutheran school was reportedly so overcrowded that all who sought admission to it, including some English and Irish youngsters, could not be accommodated. (Apparently, the master of this school was able to teach in English as well as German.)<sup>2</sup>

Literacy and piety, with more emphasis on the latter, were the watchwords of the church schools. Drawn from town and country, the boys and girls were expected to attend every Monday through Friday each week; but harvest times, or such didactic chastisements as public hangings and whippings, occasioned an unusual number of empty places. Elementary reading, writing, and spelling were taught to both German and English youth through the "ABC Book" (for the Germans the "ABC und Namen Buch"), the psalter, the Old and New Testaments, and the catechism. English scholars may have used the "New England Primer" or the "Pennsylvania Primer." In the event that a child did not possess one of these books, he might be taught from whatever text he brought to school. Moral values were inculcated not only through the maxims which could be learned by studying the religious works, but also through prayer, the singing of hymns, and listening to readings from theological books. From time to time, external examiners—usually members of the church hierarchy—visited the schools to test the young scholars. On one such visit

to the Lutheran school in 1767, the Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg found, despite a number of vacant seats owing to the harvest season, "a fine group of children who were well-instructed in spelling, reading, writing, and singing."<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding the success of the German societies in providing elementary instruction for their youth, there were children in many poor families for whom even the nominal cost of tuition was prohibitive and who, thus, could not attend the church schools. For them, help came in the form of a charity school established by the Society for the Propagation of Useful Knowledge among the Germans. A group of noblemen and gentlemen organized at London in 1751 a charitable society for the relief of poor Protestant Germans and their descendants in Pennsylvania, as well as for any poor Protestant English living among them. In 1758, some of the inhabitants of Lancaster, "in behalf of themselves and others of the German nation residing in the same borough and parts adjacent," requested that a charity school be established there. The number of poor Germans in the region reportedly was "very considerable." Since the charity schools would provide instruction in English, several inhabitants of the borough expressed a wish that the London society would also provide money for the masters of the Lutheran and Reformed Church schools, because "they are unable to educate their own poor children in the German Language and as the teaching both Languages together would occasion confusion." Lancaster was among the six towns in Pennsylvania where charity schools were established; and Edward Shippen, Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn, the Rev. William Otterbein, Sebastian Groff, merchant, John Parr, merchant, and James Wright were designated as local trustees.<sup>4</sup>

In view of the absence of a classical grammar school in the borough, prominent persons who could afford it and wished to provide such a traditional education for their children seized upon the opportunity provided by the charity school scheme and used it partly to serve their own purposes. Unable to support an instructor to teach the Greek and Latin languages exclusively, they asked that the master appointed to conduct the charity school in Lancaster be "a gentleman acquainted with the learned languages" who could also teach fee-paying children as well as poor ones. To encourage such tutelage in the classical mode, sixteen of Lancaster's principal citizens pledged £54 for three years towards the tuition of these special scholars. Some of the benefactors, like Edward Shippen and Jacob Loeser, the Lutheran schoolmaster, subscribed to the fund even though they had no youngsters of their own to educate.<sup>5</sup>

The Lancaster charity school opened on July 1, 1755, under the care of Samuel Magaw, a young man of twenty years who had been a member of the first graduating class of the College of Philadelphia, and who would



later return to his *alma mater* as professor of moral philosophy. The promoters of the charity schools allowed Magaw to teach the classical tongues to the paying scholars, and provided him with £ 25 to hire an assistant, from 1755 to 1758 Charles Inglis, who, as Bishop of Nova Scotia, would later become the first colonial bishop of the British Empire. Four years after the establishment of the school, more than sixty-five boys, nearly half of them German, attended. From time to time, masters of the German congregational schools received assistance from the promoters of the charity school; the Reverend Mr. Otterbein, pastor of the Reformed flock, received £ 10 in 1756 and 1757. There was hope in some quarters that the charity school might also include German adults who wished to learn English, but there is no evidence that the school ever undertook this added mission.<sup>6</sup>

On the whole, the German citizens of Pennsylvania had been enthusiastic at first about the charity school project. There were from the outset, however, men like Christopher Sauer, the Germantown printer, who opposed this attempt to spread English culture among his people. Unfortunately, moreover, the schools' trustees deviated from their original emphasis on a pious education in the English language and began to inculcate English customs and English political philosophy. Faced with this threat to their cultural integrity, more and more of the Germans became disenchanted with the scheme. By 1763, the financial backing of the schools had been withdrawn, thus placing elementary education, both in the Province and in the borough, again in the hands primarily of the churches.<sup>7</sup>

For a brief time, poor children of the Anglican faith received tuition without cost in a charity school established for them by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Inaugurated in 1771 by Mr. Joseph Rathell, this enterprise lasted only a year and never attracted more than twelve students, who learned reading, writing, and arithmetic, in addition to the catechism and "the first principles of religion." Rathell also had in his charge "several Negroes belonging to different Families" of the congregation, whom he taught on Sunday evenings in the schoolhouse.<sup>8</sup>

Although the most successful schools in the borough were those sponsored by the religious bodies, some members of the community were interested in the new, eighteenth-century brand of education which emphasized practical rather than literary or religious training. From time to time, clever and ambitious tutors provided the new fare by establishing "English schools" in Lancaster. As early as 1743, James Fox taught reading, writing, and arithmetic ("both Vulgar and Decimal with the Extraction of the Roots"), geometry, trigonometry, navigation, surveying, and gauging. Two years later, David Kesly announced the opening of "an

English school" in Prince Street, where "reading, Writing in the various Hands now practis'd, Arithmetic . . . and Bookkeeping in the *Italian Method*" were taught, "after the newest and best manner." Although neither of these efforts appears to have succeeded for more than a brief time, there was a continuing demand within the borough for instruction of this type. In 1762, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* carried an announcement that an English schoolmaster who could teach reading, writing, and arithmetic in Lancaster "may have a good Schoolhouse, with a good Stove-Room and Fire-place, a large Cellar for Firewood, and other Conveniences, at a low Rent, it being formerly a School-house and a good Master much wanted." A candidate able to teach the classical subjects appeared, but was informed that the English residents would hire "no Man but such as can teach an English school as well as a Latin one." Within a short while, "a good Grammar school"—with boarding facilities for "Youth from the Country"—opened in the town. This was undoubtedly the one kept by Mr. John Powell, who appears to have met with some success. Among his scholars were the children of Colonel James Burd, as well as the nephew of the attorney Jasper Yeates. Despite "the want of proper Encouragement," Powell was still on the job in 1769, having by this time extended his pedagogical offering to include "the most useful branches of the MATHEMATICS," and securing additional income through surveying and drawing up legal documents. Mr. Joseph Rathell conducted "a large English school" in 1771, and the Rev. Thomas Hutchins, the Anglican minister, supervised a similar establishment in the 1780's, though not without frequent complaints about the difficulties he encountered in collecting the required fees.<sup>9</sup>

The movement for secular academies which swept the new nation after the War for Independence was reflected in Lancaster. In 1780, Jasper Yeates, George Ross, and other prominent men of the town agreed that the existing schools in the borough were incapable of offering "the higher branches" of knowledge, and were, therefore, inadequate to the total educational needs of the community. The Lancaster Academy was opened in early 1782, with Andrew Brown as principal, and William Atlee, Jasper Yeates, William Henry, John Hubley, and Matthias Slough as elected curators. The school offered a varied curriculum of classical studies, French, and practical subjects, with the students grouped as either "Latin and Greek scholars" or "English and mathematical students," thus combining in one institution the programs of a classical school and an English school. At the quarterly examination in September, 1782, held in the presence of the curators "and a number of ladies and gentlemen and other respectable citizens," the scholars performed well in the classical studies, and gave convincing proof of "a considerable improvement made in arithmetic, book-

keeping, and mathematics." Several students recited "some select pieces . . . in a manner that exceeded the expectations of the audience." Presenting their remarks publicly in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, the curators concluded that the men entrusted with the teaching in the academy had "done the fullest justice to the pupils committed to their charge."<sup>10</sup> Despite these encouraging beginnings, the academy floundered. Animosity between Brown and some of the leading supporters of the institution led the former to remove to Philadelphia, where he set up a similar school.<sup>11</sup>

Several other types of schools existed in the town at one time or another. Peter Audirac, a Frenchman, announced in 1788 his intention "to keep a school in the French language," and in the same year Frederick Valentine Melsheimer advertised that he would give private lessons in the German language at 20s. per quarter, endeavouring "in particular . . . to connect with the grammatical Instruction a familiar Knowledge of the best Authors of Germany." Parents who wished to provide elementary education for their daughters were able to do so by the end of the period. "I sent our little girls to Mrs. Bickham," Sarah Yeates informed her husband in April, 1788. "They seem well pleased with their Mistress, and I hope that school will soon fit them for a Master's."<sup>12</sup>

An important addition to Lancaster's educational resources appeared with the opening of a college there in 1787. Among the German leaders in the State of Pennsylvania, including several Lancastrians, there had been germinating for some time the idea of establishing an institution of higher learning for their people. This sentiment, however, was strong only among the "church people," that is Lutherans, Reformed, and Roman Catholics, for the sectarian groups were notoriously apathetic, if not hostile, to anything above rudimentary schooling. In requesting a charter from the Assembly, the promoters of the college stated that a principal concern was "the necessity and advantage of diffusing literature among German . . . citizens." Specifically, they hoped that such an institution would promote "an accurate knowledge of the German and English languages, also of the learned languages, of mathematics, morals, and natural philosophy, divinity, and all such other branches of literature as will tend to made good men and useful citizens." There was, however, a larger civic and democratic motive behind the desire to found the college—a conviction among its sponsors "of the necessity of diffusing knowledge through every part of the State, in order to preserve our present republican system of government, as well as to promote those improvements in the arts and sciences which alone render nations respectable, great, and happy."<sup>13</sup>

More than a means of providing higher education for the Germans of Pennsylvania or a vehicle for the production of intelligent republican citizens, the college was intended to serve as a rudimentary ecumenical

bond uniting the Lutheran and Reformed societies in particular, as well as these and other denominational bodies in the State. The plan of government designated forty trustees, fourteen of whom had to be Lutherans, with an equal number to be Reformed or Calvinist churchpeople. The remaining overseers could be chosen "indiscriminately from any other society of Christians." A "fundamental article" stipulated that "the principal of the college shall be chosen from the Lutheran and Reformed . . . churches alternately, unless such of the trustees as belong to these two societies shall unanimously agree to choose two or more persons in succession of the same denomination, or some suitable person or persons of any other Society of Christians."<sup>14</sup> The choice of Lancaster as the site for the proposed college was dictated by several factors: "its central and healthy situation, the character of its inhabitants, the convenience with which children of every description may be accommodated with board and lodgings, and the probability that the necessary buildings may be immediately procured and at a moderate expense." Two ministers in the borough, the Rev. William Hendel, pastor of the Reformed congregation, and the Rev. G. H. E. Muhlenberg, of Trinity Lutheran Church, were active in promoting the establishment of the college.<sup>15</sup>

On March 10, 1787, the Assembly granted a charter of incorporation to Franklin College (now Franklin and Marshall College), the name chosen by the promoters of the institution to show their "profound respect for the character of the President of the State," Benjamin Franklin. The Rev. Gotthilf Henry Ernest Muhlenberg, youngest son of the Lutheran patriarch, Henry M. Muhlenberg, and described by Benjamin Rush as being possessed of "extensive knowledge and taste in the arts and sciences, and a devoté of natural history and botany," was named the first president of the school. Trustees residing within the borough were the Rev. William Hendel, Father John Baptiste Causee, the Roman Catholic priest, Jasper Yeates, Paul Zantzinger, and Christopher Crawford, a wealthy innkeeper. Franklin College was empowered to grant "such degrees in the liberal arts and sciences to . . . pupils or other persons, who by their proficiency in learning or other meritorious distinctions they shall think entitled to them, as are usually granted and conferred in other colleges in America and Europe, and to grant to such graduates, diplomas and certificates . . . to authenticate and perpetuate the memory of such graduation." A charity school incorporated with the college was never actually opened; but its purposes were somewhat fulfilled by the provisions for the free tuition of a number of poor students at the college.<sup>16</sup>

When instruction commenced in July, 1787, a competent faculty was on hand, including Principal Muhlenberg, the Reverend Mr. Hendel, who served as vice principal, Frederick Valentine Melsheimer, professor of the



Latin, Greek, and German languages, William Reichenbach, professor of mathematics, and the Rev. Joseph Hutchins, rector of St. James's Church, who was professor of the English language and belles-lettres. At least one hundred students registered for the first term, and were divided into two "departments" — German and English. The former, less well attended, consisted chiefly of advanced students. The English department was apparently a somewhat miscellaneous group of boys and girls at various levels of proficiency. It is doubtful that the college actually granted degrees in its earliest years; rather was it, in fact, an institution essentially for secondary education, though some of the scholars pursued advanced studies. To be sure, the venture commenced on a less than sturdy financial basis; nevertheless, a good beginning had been accomplished and leaders and residents of the borough could boast of the preeminence in education among the other distinctions enjoyed by their town in its region.<sup>17</sup>

### -III-

The education of Lancastrians did not depend upon formal instruction alone. A love of books, the best avenue to self-instruction, characterized some of the town's inhabitants. Edward Shippen, whose correspondence reveals his familiarity with the classical authors, read in a variety of subjects, including Renaissance literature, geography, religion, history, and gardening. The writings of Cato and Ovid were among the titles he ordered on occasion from Philadelphia booksellers, including David Hall, with whom he maintained an account. A particular favorite with him — worthy, indeed, of being recommended to "two deserving apprentices" — was Erasmus of Rotterdam, whom he read in Latin as well as in English. Possessed of a strong religious outlook, Shippen had in his library such works as the Archbishop of Canterbury's *Demonstration of the Existence of a God*, Castalio's *Dialogi Sacri*, the Old and New Testaments in Latin, and sermons, which he took especial delight in reading. It was doubtless from those and other sources that Shippen derived many of the sentiments on religion which he discussed with the Rev. Thomas Barton. Shippen devoted a part of his leisure to perfecting his mastery of French, using as texts newspapers in that language which he obtained from the Philadelphia bookseller William Bradford.<sup>18</sup>

There were other men, too, whose libraries or requests to booksellers reveal an appreciation for good literature as well as works essential to their professions. David Stout, attorney, whose collection of largely French titles suggests a Gallic background, possessed among more than one hundred books a two-volume history of France, a French Bible, a grammar in that language, as well as *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne*. To aid him in pursuit of the advocate's art, Stout had on hand *Coke Upon Littleton*,

Ventri's *Reports*, two volumes of modern entries, a collection of the statutes of Pennsylvania, five volumes of Washington's abridgements and two of Wingate's, four volumes of *Instructio Clericales*, Jacob's *Conveyance*, Dalton's *Justice*, the English *Book of Rates*, and *The Practices of the Court of King's Bench*.<sup>19</sup> Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn occasionally borrowed works on religious subjects from his good friend the Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, requesting from him at one time Dr. Spener's *Glaubens-Lehre*, the same author's *Thatiges Christenthum*, Martin Moller's *Evangelien Postille*, A. H. Francke's collection of evangelical sermons—spiritual nourishment for Kuhn's pietistic soul—and the same author's *Bass-Predigten*.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the largest private library in Lancaster was that of the attorney Jasper Yeates, well stocked not alone with the usual legal titles, but with contemporary English literature as well. As early as 1767, Yeates was a reader of *The American Magazine*, not then in wide circulation, and three years later he bought Cadwallader Colden's *History of the Five Indian Nations*, one set of Hickeringill's *Works*, Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*, a book of Hart's *Poems*, a collection of "Loyal Songs," and a copy of Patrick's *Psalms and Tunes*.<sup>21</sup>

Almanacs, those curious and ever-popular collections of astronomy, astrology, meteorology, folk humor, and practical advice, constituted, after the Bible, the most widely read type of literature in Lancaster. In these works, the reader could find weather predictions for every day of the ensuing year, warnings of evil days and of the prevalent diseases to be expected, and the dates of county courts and fairs in Pennsylvania; they could also be apprised of the proper days for felling timber or taking purgative medicines, for cutting hay — or, for speculating! Usually, the almanac included several essays, some humorous, others of more serious intention. Many of these compendia were published at several places in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, and were available to Lancastrians through the shopkeepers of the town.<sup>22</sup>

Books were available to the residents through several sources close at hand, whether they were works in English, in German, or the ancient classics. Before the appearance of booksellers in the town, the products of the Philadelphia, Germantown, Ephrata, and other presses were sold in the borough by agents designated by the publishers. In 1742, Daniel Maquenet, occupation unknown, provided the German-speaking Swiss immigrants in and around the town with John Bichtel's *Short Catechism for Some Congregations of Jesus of the Reformed Religion in Pennsylvania who hold to the ancient Synod of Bern*, a German work printed by Franklin in Philadelphia. When Christopher Sauer distributed his famous Bible a year later, Dr. H. Rieger handled sales in the borough; and from time to time Sauer commissioned others to sell his publications. "Heinrich

Walter, dem Blaufarber" (blue dyer), sold a little volume entitled *Verschiedene Christliche Warheiten*, and also retailed Bibles, psalters, Lutheran catechisms, and "ABC" books in 1748. Walter was also the Lancaster distributor for an imprint of the Ephrata press, *Das Evangelium Nicodemi* or *The Nicodemus Book*, in the following year, while another blue dyer, Caspar Shaffner, proffered sermons printed by Sauer.<sup>23</sup>

Shopkeepers frequently kept on hand a supply of the most commonly sought-after titles, as well as almanacs and newspapers. Heinrich Walter, who appears to have turned from blue dyeing to shopkeeping by 1752, informed readers of the *Pennsylvanische Berichte* of a large assortment of religious works which he had for sale, including Spener's *Glaubens-Trost* and *Predigten von der Wiedergeburt*, Johann Arndt's *Wahres Christenthum* ("with copperplate prints"), and Christopher Shugen's *Schrifften in 5 Bund*. The Rev. Thomas Barton's *Conduct of the Paxton Men* was distributed by John Craig, shopkeeper, in 1764. Through his friend the Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, Ludwig Lauman, shopkeeper, ordered German titles—probably religious tomes for the most part—from Halle, but received some of the works he sold from Heinrich Miller, bookseller, in Philadelphia. Charles Hamilton, who thrived well as a trader in the 1770's, also utilized this latter source for the books he sold. "Would be much obliged to you," he wrote to his friend John Mitchell in 1774, "to apply to Henry Miller and get from him 12 doz. Dutch Almanacks, 9 doz. Sower's, and 3 doz. of Miller's; and pray do Insist for the same allowance that Lauman gets."<sup>24</sup>

As the town matured, additional sources of books became available. The publishers of the *Lancaster Gazette*, the borough's first newspaper, sold stationery and books, including Dilworth's *Spelling Book*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*, New England primers, and "Letters to the Dead from the Living." Also on hand in the newspaper office was a supply of German books, including psalters, and Luther's translation of the New Testament. When they opened their business in Lancaster in the 1780's, the printers Steimer, Albrecht, and Lahn sold an assortment of general works as well as school books. Titles advertised by them in 1787 and 1788 included Gordon's *General Counting House and Man of Business*; John Adams' *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America*; Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*; *The Character of Persons in the British Parliament*; *Humphrey Clinker*; *The Man of Real Sensibility, or the History of George Ellison*; "Rosina, A Comic Opera," by William Shield; and a *Songbook Containing Over 100 New Lusty German Songs*. Albrecht and Lahn also employed a bookbinder, Johannes Karch.<sup>25</sup>

Several shops devoted exclusively to the sale of books and stationery were

opened from time to time, but their proprietors found it impossible to sustain themselves merely in this commodity; and by the end of the period there was no such enterprise in the borough. Caleb Johnson announced in 1767 that he was the owner of "a Book and Stationary Store where he has for sale on the most moderate terms a great variety of books, writing paper, sealing wax, wafers, parchment, pasteboard, etc." Three years later, the bookseller and binder Benjamin Poulteney was filling the orders of local bibliophiles.<sup>26</sup>

Certainly the most outstanding testament to the appreciation of books in and about Lancaster was the establishment of two libraries there in this period, one of them more restrictive in its readership, the other clearly of a popular nature. In 1759, several residents of Lancaster and York counties, influenced by the example of successful subscription libraries in Philadelphia and elsewhere, organized the Lancaster Library Company, designed, according to its founders, "to infuse a Spirit of Knowledge and the Arts thro' a very respectable and industrious Country." Its members, limited to one hundred, a figure nearly reached by 1772, were at first a voluntary company organized by articles of association, with those subscribing 40s. or more entitled to a share in the company. More than the exclusive possession of a single town or national group, the Lancaster Library attracted members from nearby towns as well as the borough, and was a means, moreover, for bringing together representatives from various groups within the population in the comradery of shared intellectual inquisitiveness. The first board of eleven directors included Emmanuel Carpenter (Zimmerman) of Earltown, for many years a county representative in the Provincial Assembly and once described as "the principal Dutchman in these parts"; Edward Shippen; the Rev. William Stoy, minister of the Reformed Church in the borough; Isaac Whitelock, a prosperous Quaker tanner; the Rev. Thomas Barton, rector of St. James's Anglican Church; and Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn. William Henry, the renowned gunsmith, was named treasurer in 1766 and held the post twenty-two years thereafter, during which time the company's "Library Room" was maintained at his home. In its general membership, too, the company brought together men of divergent backgrounds, including professional men, men in trade, and craftsmen. To be sure, the desire to be "knowing and useful" was an individual quality, not an ethnic or occupational characteristic.<sup>27</sup>

Ordering most of their books from London and Philadelphia, the directors of the library occasionally received gifts of volumes from groups and individuals. Matthias Bush, a Philadelphia merchant, contributed twenty-six tomes—the single largest benefaction. Thomas Penn, the Earl of Pomfret, and his wife, Lady Juliana, took a special interest in this association and were frequent contributors of titles. Indeed, the company received a




charter in 1762 incorporating it as "The Juliana Library Company of Lancaster," in honor of Mrs. Penn "and as a Testimony of the high Obligation they are under to her." Ten years later, as another mark of their affection for her, the directors of the company requested Lady Juliana "to permit Mr. [Benjamin] West to take her Picture, to be placed in the Companys Library Room," but this portrait does not appear to have been executed. During the War for Independence, from 1776 to 1784, the possessions of the company were "cased up and not opened to the perusal and inspection of members," but in 1783 the Assembly enacted a law re-establishing the corporation under Commonwealth authority, and shortly thereafter the collection was restored to the shelves.<sup>28</sup>

By 1790 this library contained at least three hundred titles and nine hundred volumes. Two printed catalogues were published by the company. The first, *The Charter of the Juliana Library Company in Lancaster; and the Laws of the Said Company*, was printed in Wilmington by James Adams in 1762. This volume appears to have been intended primarily for the convenience of members and included a short-title list of the books, their prices, "with the Numbers as they stand in the Library Room." In the following year, the directors issued *The Charter, Laws, Catalogue of Books, List of Philosophical Instruments, &c. of the Juliana Library Company in Lancaster*, printed in Philadelphia by Hall and Sellers. This, a more impressive work, was clearly the company's letter to the intellectual world. Included here were the full title and description of each book, as well as the place and date of publication. Enhancing the volume were essays on the value of learning and the history of the company. The prose pieces contained in the catalogue revealed that the members of the company were quite at home in the progressive intellectual climate of their age; they were highly appreciative of the benefits of education in relieving ignorance and "exalting our Nature"; they knew, too, that it "inspires us with a love of Freedom, and an Abhorrence of Slavery." The directors announced their belief, moreover, that

Repositories of the united Labours of the Wise and Learned are certainly the first and most proper Means of making Men knowing and useful. And they so manifestly tend to enrich, exalt and ennoble the human Mind, that the Love or Contempt of them, may be a proper Criterion between Goodness of Heart, and its Contrary. For certain it is, that the Promotion of useful Knowledge is an Undertaking truly virtuous and Praise-worthy, and such as flows from the generous Breast alone; and that the Patrons and Encouragers thereof ever have been, and, we hope, ever shall be, deemed the great Friends of Mankind.<sup>29</sup>

What seemed especially noteworthy to the promoters of this library, however, was that through it "the Means of Knowledge are thereby

Der Gantz Neue Verbeßerte  
**Nord-Americanische**  
**Calender,**  
 Des  
**I 776ten Jahres Schrift,**  
 welche ein Schalt Jahr von 366 Tagen,  
 und eben so viel  
 Die Wochen Monats: Namen: Feyer und andere dem Land-  
 man zu wissen nützliche und nöthwendige Tage.  
 Wie auch  
 Der Sonnen und des Mondes Auf- und Untergang: die Planeten der Planeten  
 Anzeiger der Wetter: der Fluß oder des hohen Wassers in Philadelphia,  
 und dergleichen Aufgang, Gang und Untergang.  
 Derselbe veranlaßt nach der Pennsylvaniaischen Himmels-Gegend, dabey aber  
 in ansehnlichen Landkarten eine merckliche Unterredung zu vernehmen.  
 Dessen sind noch begünstigt einige ansehnliche, nützliche und köstliche Erfindungen, samt andern  
 Calender Arbeien.  
 Zum ersten mal herausgegeben und verfertigt von Gottlieb Himmels-Bewunderer



Lancaster: Gedruckt und in hohen bey Stearn, Bailey, in der Königs-Strasse.  
 Auch findet man die amerikanische Kalender bey den Herrn Isaac Graub und Johann  
 Neum, in Philadelphia. Der Darsen, in Lancaster; Wilhelm Moore, in Reading; George und  
 Schaefer in Baltimore; Michaelis, in Baltimore; und andern

**A N  
 ALMANACK,**  
 For the Year of our LORD,  
 1752:  
 Being BOSTONVILLE, or LEAP-YEAR.  
 Wherein is contained,  
 The Lunations, Eclipses, Judgment of the Weather,  
 Sun and Moon's rising and setting, fixed Stars rising,  
 setting and fortuning, with Fairs, Courts, and other  
 Publick Days, intermixed with several important  
 Prophecies in Nature.  
 Calculated for the Meridian (or Port) of the City  
 of Boston, in the Province of NEW ENGLAND:  
 by G. G. ALPHONSO, Professor  
 of the Mathematics in the College of Boston.  
 New York: Printed and sold by JAMES CHATTIN,  
 at the New-Printing Office, near the Mar-  
 ket; where Blank Bonds, Bonds and In-  
 surances, Apprentices Indentures, and oth-  
 er Blankes, are Printed and Sold.

**LANCASTER**  
 Printed and Sold by JAMES CHATTIN,  
 at the New-Printing Office, near the Mar-  
 ket; where Blank Bonds, Bonds and In-  
 surances, Apprentices Indentures, and oth-  
 er Blankes, are Printed and Sold.

Golden Number, 5. Epoch N. 3. 14. O. S. 17.  
 Cycle of the Sun, 11. Dominical Letter, E. A. N. S.  
 L. E. D. O. S. Minutes of Direction, 5. N. S. and 6. O. S.  
 The Letters of the Twelve Signs.  
 1. Aries, the best Land Rice, 12. Taurus, Rice,  
 13. Gemini, and 14. Cancer, Rice, 15. Leo, Rice,  
 16. Virgo, Rice, 17. Libra, Rice, 18. Scorpio, Rice,  
 19. Sagittarius, Rice, 20. Capricorn, Rice, 21. Aquarius,  
 22. Pisces, Rice. [This find where the signs first  
 find the day of the month, and admit the day, in the  
 fifth column, you have the sign or place or the month;  
 then find the same sign here, and it will show the  
 of the body at governance.]

# ISSUES OF THE LANCASTER PRESS

Almanacs were, after the Bible, the most widely read literature in and around Lancaster. *Left*, the earliest local example of the genre—James Chatin's *Almanack for the Year of Our Lord 1752*. *Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia*. *Right*, the first German almanac printed in Lancaster — *The Whole New Improved North American Calendar* . . . *Courtesy of the State Library of Pennsylvania*.

2<sup>tes</sup> Stück.

Numb. 2.

Die  
LANCASTERSCHE  
Zeitung:

Der  
Ein Kurzer Begriff  
Der  
Hauptfächlichsten Aus-  
ländisch- und Embe-  
rischen Neuigkeiten.



THE  
LANCASTER  
GAZETTE:

OR,  
A COMPENDIUM  
OF THE  
Most material FOREIGN  
and HOME NEWS.

Den 29<sup>ten</sup> Jenner, 1752.

January 29, 1752.

Ansländische Nachrichten.

Petersburg, (einer der Wohnplätze des Russischen Hofes)  
den 21 August.

IN JOSE Leute alhier haben Abdrücke von einer in Holland herausgegebenen Chartelle erhalten, die betitelt ist, Schreiben eines Holländers an ein Mitglied des Britanischen Parlaments, über das Absterben des Königs von Schweden. Obwol der Urheber dieser Schrift keine Parteilichkeit verräth in Ansehung der Zwistigkeiten zwischen unserm und dem Schwedischen Hofe, so sind doch einige Entdeckungen drin welche auf dem herannahenden Landtag selbigen Königreichs Kränken bereicherungen können die im Stande sind Ansehnlichkeit man, daß diese Chartelle beydes hier und in Stockholm wird verbreitet werden, und daß die Russisch- und Schwedische Staatsbediente im Haag Besicht zu halten werden, drauf zu denken daß sie in den Vereinigten Niederlanden inderdrucker werde.

Rom, (die Kaiser-Stadt in Italien) den 25 Sept. Da der Papst vor einigen wenigen Tagen von der Libanier Haupt-Kirche nach dem Quirinal zurück kehrte, fuere ein gemeiner Mann bey seiner Kutsche nieder als ob er gleichsam den Segen empfangen wollte; aber indem Abre Heiligkeit die Hände ausstreckte ihm den Segen mitzutheilen, rafft der Kerl einen Stein nach des Hohenpriesters Haupt, der jedoch sanft fiel, weil der Heilige Vater plözlich auf die Bewegung des Mannes Arms zurück aguckte hatte. Alle Zuschauer kamen über den einen Tropfen, und gingen umgeschiffen mit ihm um, ungeachtet aller Zeichen gebens des Papsts daß man ihn schonen solle. Er wurde nachher ins Nachthaus des Quirinals gebracht, wo es sich bald zeigte daß er von Einnen war, und demselben Tag die Flucht aus dem Tholhaufe genommen hatte: Voran Abre Heiligkeit ihn wieder dahin zu bringen befohl, und daß künftig in der Geze getragen werde um dergleichen Einweichungen vorzuehmen.

Vion, (eine gute Handels-Stadt im Mittälischen Theil von Frankreich) den 23 Sept. Briefe von Provence belehren uns, daß ein großer Theil der Wälder zwischen dem Rhodan und Toulous gelegen, so beynahe dreyßig Ewunder ist, nlich durch den Brand verbrüht sind, zum Theil gressen Verlust nicht allein der Eigenthumsheeren dafallen, sondern selbst der Heurathung, weil das Holz in allen benachbarten Ländern sehr theuer gemacht hat: Wie sich dieser unglückliche Zufall ereignet hat könn man nicht sagen, aber es werde durchdringung geglaubt, daß es von abgelenkten Kuten mit Feuer geschehen so.

FOREIGN ADVICES.

PETERSBURG, (one of the Residences of the Russian Court) August 31.

SOME People here have received printed Copies of a Pamphlet published in Holland, entitled, *A Letter from a Dutchman to a Member of the British Parliament, on the Death of the King of Sweden.* Though the Author of this Piece betrays no Partiality in regard to the Subject of Disputes between this Court and that of Sweden, there are some Relations in it which may give Birth to Questions in the approaching Diet of that Kingdom, capable of producing Wranglings between the Courts. Therefore we presume that this Pamphlet will be prohibited both here and in Stockholm; and that the Russian and Swedish Ministers at the Hague will receive Orders to insist upon its being suppressed in the United Provinces.

ROME, (the Capital of Italy) Sept. 25. The Pope returning a few Days ago from the Libanian Basilic to the Quirinal, a Man of the meaner Class kneeled down by his Coach as it were to receive the Benediction; but while his Holiness stretched out his Hand to give him a Blessing, the Fellow flung a Stone at the Pontiff's Head, which however missed him, the Holy Father having suddenly started back at the Motion of the Man's Arm. All the Spectators idl upon the poor Wretch, and handled him very roughly, notwithstanding all the Signs made by the Pope to spare him. He was afterwards carried to the Guard-House of the Quirinal, where it soon appeared that he was out of his Senses, and that he made his Escape the same Day from the Madhouse: Upon which his Majesty ordered him to be carried thither, and that more Care be taken for the future to prevent such Escapes.

LYONS, (a good trading City in the South of France) Sept. 23. By Letters from Provence we are informed, that great Part of the Forests situate between the River Var and Toulous, which is near thirty Leagues, have lately been destroyed by Fire, to the very great Loss not only of the Owners thereof but even to Commerce, as it has made Wood very dear in all the neighbouring countries: How this unfortunate Accident happened no one could tell, but it is generally believed that it was done on purpose by some ill minded People.

LANCASTER'S FIRST NEWSPAPER

In 1752 Samuel Holland and his assistant Heinrich Miller — using type supplied by Benjamin Franklin — began publishing the bilingual *Lancaster Gazette; or a Brief Account of the Principal Foreign and Domestic News*. The paper was discontinued after about a year and a half. *Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*





#### OBSERVERS OF MAN AND NATURE

*Left.* Christopher Marshall (1709-1797), a Quaker apothecary from Philadelphia who moved to the borough during the War of the Revolution and whose *Remembrancer* provides a splendid chronicle of those exercising times. Copy by an unknown artist.

*Right.* The Rev. Gotthilf Henry Ernestus Muhlenberg (1753-1815), pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, cataloger of American flora, and first president of Franklin College. By James B. Sword after an original by Charles Willson Peale. *Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*



T H E

C H A R T E R,  
L A W S,

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS,

LIST OF

PHILOSOPHICAL INSTRUMENTS, &c.  
OF THE

*Juliana Library-Company,*

IN

L A N C A S T E R.

To which are prefixed,

Some *Reflections* on the *Advantages* of KNOWLEDGE; the  
Origin of BOOKS and LIBRARIES, shewing how they  
have been encouraged and patronized by the Wise and Virtuous  
of every Age.

WITH

A Short Account of its INSTITUTION, FRIENDS and BENEFACTORS.

See Tablis Jettius quædam, torpet Medicum, Philologia manca est, Linæa nuz, om-  
na Trebin involuta Constatim ———  
*Barth. de Libris Ligat. Dij.*

Books are the Legacies which a Great Genius leaves to Mankind, which are delivered  
down from Generation to Generation, as Presents to Posterity.—What an incalculable  
Price would a *Plutarch*, or a *Homer*, a *Curio*, or an *Asiatick* *Reas*, were their Works,  
like a Statue, a Building, or a Picture, to be confined only in one Place, and made  
the Property of a single Person?  
SPICATORES.

Published by ORDER of the DIRECTORS.

P H I L A D E L P H I A :

Printed by D. HALL, and W. SELLERS. MDCCLXXI.

## THE ARTS MOVE WESTWARD

Organized in 1759, the Lancaster Library Company—whose patrons included the Penn family in England—became the Juliana Library Company three years later. *Courtesy of the State Library of Pennsylvania.* The establishment of Franklin College in 1787 was looked upon as auspicious for the higher education of Pennsylvania's German residents. *Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.*

*Weyers*  
Geyßersbrief

der  
Deutschen Höhen Schule,  
(College)

in der  
Stadt Lancaster,

in dem  
Staate Pennsylvania;

nebst einer

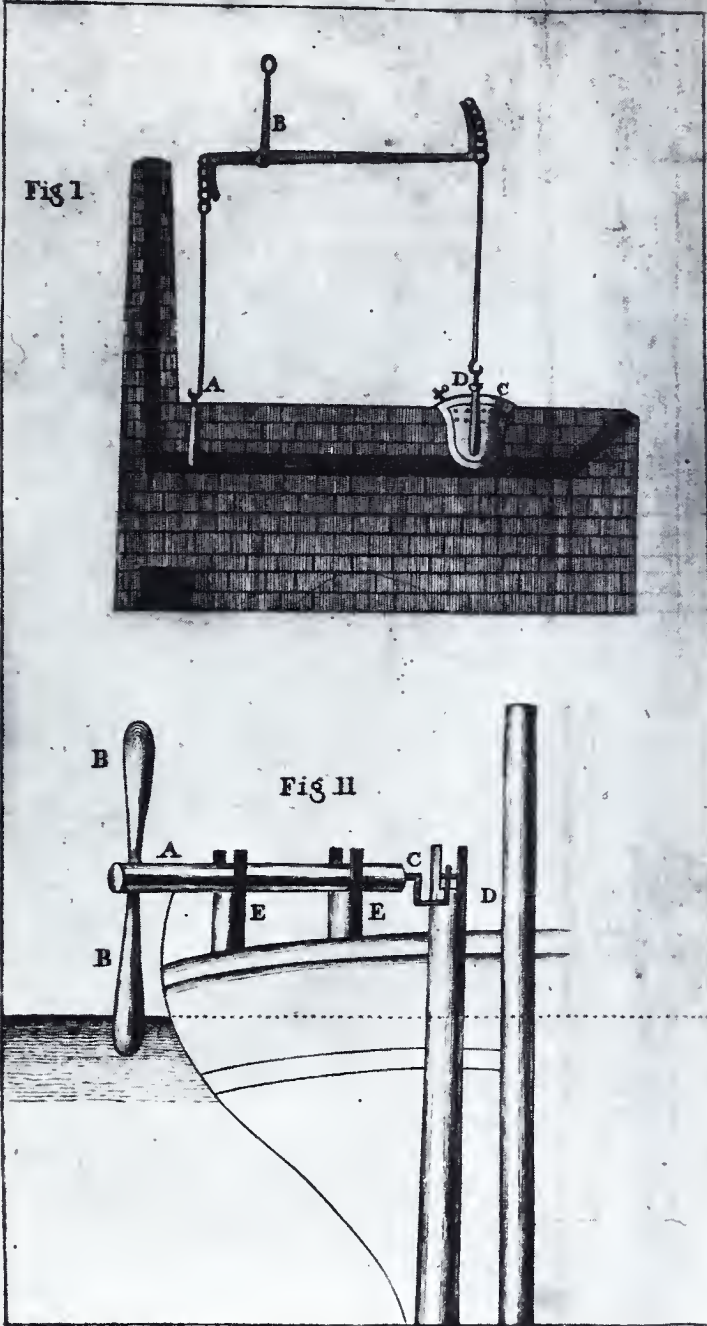
Rede an die Deutschen  
dieses Staates,

von dem

Präsident der besagten Höhen Schule.

Philadelphia:

Verkauft bey Michael Erntner, in der Neudrucke  
gehöret der Zeughaus und Zantagasse, 1777.



*H. Danks sculp.*

### WILLIAM HENRY'S "SENTINEL REGISTER"

One of many projects from the mind and hands of that "ingenious Mechanic," this heat regulator was envisioned by its creator as potentially useful in furnaces, in making procelain, in heating buildings, or in hatching chickens "according to the Egyptian Method." From *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, I (Philadelphia, 1777).



### POPULAR ART

This "Vorschrift," or religious precept, from Lancaster, is an example of "Fractur-Schrift," the popular manuscript illumination and calligraphy of the "Pennsylvania Dutch," made with quill pen, pencil and brush on paper. *Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Farm Museum.*

brought the nearest *Westwardly*, of any that we know of, to the Borders of *Error* and *Barbarity*, which may excite others still nearer to catch the example, and carry Knowledge by Degree to the very Doors of the poor untutored and unenlightened Heathen." Suggestive of this theme were the company's motto—"Ecce Comitibus Itineris"—and its seal, which depicted Minerva "leading an illiterate Person with one Hand and pointing with the other to a shelf of books and a pair of Globes." But aside from the matter of advancing civilization in general, there was a more practical justification for the institution as a means of improving "a particular Genius for *Agriculture* and the *Mechanic Arts*," for which the inhabitants of Lancaster and its vicinity were renowned.<sup>30</sup>

On resorting to the "Library Room," the members of the company could select their reading from books ranging widely over more than twenty-five subjects. Besides the standard titles in history, politics, literature, and moral and natural philosophy, there were at the time of the Revolution, books on gardening, bookkeeping, navigation, husbandry, gastronomy, and anatomy. Most numerous, however, were the works on belles-lettres and language, with works on religion and moral philosophy and those dealing with politics and history also in abundance. There were, of course, the familiar authors: Puffendorf's *Law of Nature and Nations*, Raleigh's *History of the World*, Newton's *Optics*, and Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding* as well as his *Two Treatises on Civil Government*. The classics were represented, too, with the writings of Epectitus, Livy, Plautus, and Virgil. Lovers of modern literature could find *The Monthly Review*, as well as the complete works of Shakespeare, Pope, Addison, Sterne, and Swift. There were works which reflected the strained relations between England and the colonies in the 1760's, as well as contemporary political developments in England: John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, and "A Compleat Collection of the genuine Papers, Letters, &c. of John Wilkes." And for those people with more specialized or sensational tastes, there were *Campanalogia Improved, or the Art of Ringing Made Easy, by Plain and Methodical Rules*, a concordance to the Bible in the Welsh language, as well as *Select Trials at the Sessions-House, in the Old Bailey, for murders, robberies, rapes, sodomy, coining, frauds, bigamy, and other offences, to which are added genuine accounts of the lives, behaviour, confessions and dying speeches of the most eminent convicts*.<sup>31</sup>

The Juliana Library was essentially a means for the diffusion of English culture; the catalogue clearly reveals this, though in this respect it did reflect the tastes and interests of the English people who predominated in the membership. Only a half-dozen or so German titles, or works which would presumably have special appeal for Germans, are known to have been



owned by the company: William Sewel's *History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the People Called Quakers*, and Robert Barclay's *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, both translated into German and presented to the library by Friends; Sigmund Jacob Baumarten's *Sammlung von Glaubensschriften zur allgemeinen Welt-historie; or The Universal History in the German Language* (Halle, 1747); Johann Jacob Backmair's *Neue Englische Grammatike* (London, 1753); *The Present State of Germany* (London, 1738); *The Life and Actions of Frederick the Third, King of Prussia* (London, 1759); and *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg . . . Written by the present King of Prussia* (London, 1758).<sup>32</sup>

In addition to its English orientation, the Juliana Library always had about it the air of a gentleman's club; despite the sentiments expressed by its directors at the time of incorporation, the institution was no agency for the popular diffusion of knowledge. A new library, intended for popular use and more reflective of the interests of the German inhabitants of the borough and its vicinity, was opened in 1787 by the printers Steimer, Albrecht, and Lahn. This "lese-Biblio-theek," or lending library, contained more than twelve hundred volumes, "the most and best [being] German writings, with a few English and French authors." Books could be borrowed for terms ranging from one month to a quarter of a year. With the establishment of this library, the residents of the town had on hand a readier avenue to knowledge, one which was of special appeal to the German townsmen.<sup>33</sup>

#### -IV-

At least a dozen printers set up shops in the borough at one time or another, and helped to keep Lancastrians and their neighbors informed about a good many things in the broadsides, sermons, almanacs, books, and—in a few instances—newspapers which they issued. Not until after 1770, however, was the town able to sustain a printery on a continuous basis. Prior to that, the shops were maintained intermittently by youthful journeymen for whom Lancaster represented only a station on the road to becoming masters of their calling; with but one exception, they stayed in the borough only a year or two, then returned to Philadelphia or sought other horizons. Two of the first printers in the town were connected with America's foremost practitioner of this craft, Benjamin Franklin, either by having served their apprenticeships under him, or through the rental of the earliest Lancaster press and type, which he owned.

Of the first printer to work in the town little more than his existence is known—James Coulter, who lived there sometime between 1745 and 1748. Three years later, James Chattin, equipped with printing materials rented from Franklin, offered his services to townsmen, but he soon retreated to

the Provincial capital. By 1753, Samuel Holland, a graduate of Franklin's shop, conducted a printing business at the post office in King Street, assisted for a short while by Heinrich Miller, a local craftsman trained at Ephrata who would achieve later renown as "the patriot printer" of revolutionary Philadelphia. Fresh from William Bradford's printery in the same city came William Dunlap, a young Irishman whose three years in Lancaster, 1754 to 1757, constituted the most active ones in the early history of printing there. A fourteen-year period during which the town was without a printer ended in 1771 when Francis Bailey, a native of Lancaster County who served his apprenticeship with the venerable Peter Miller at Ephrata, opened a shop in King Street, a few doors below the market house, where he remained for seven years before moving on to Philadelphia. At about the same time, Stewart Herbert opened an establishment of his own, which he conducted for three years; but hardly anything is known of him except two titles which he published. The town's second German printer, Matthias Bartgis, worked in the borough for a year (1776-1777) before removing to Frederick, Maryland. Between 1778 and 1782, Theophilus Cossart and Company were on hand "directly opposite the Three Green Trees." Jacob Bailey—his relationship, if any, to Francis Bailey is unknown—arrived in 1779 and worked in the town for eleven years. A long-lived and extensive printer was launched in 1787 when the company of Steimer, Albrecht, and Lahn moved to Lancaster from Philadelphia and opened their "neuen Buchdruckerey" (new printinghouse) on Queen Street a few doors south of the courthouse. Steimer and Lahn had both served their apprenticeships under Christopher Sauer, II. During the War for Independence, when Howe's invasion of Philadelphia forced many of its residents to flee to Lancaster, John Dunlap temporarily moved his printing tools to the borough and opened a print shop, depending largely on the work provided for him by the State government.<sup>34</sup>

Lancaster never became a significant publishing center in this period, but the printers of the borough did, from time to time, issue volumes in both German and English. These consisted primarily of reprints published on subscription, but occasionally the Lancaster imprint was the original one. Most of the works printed in the town reflected the interests of a religious people—catechisms, sermons, polemical literature, and pieces devoted to moral philosophy. Characteristic of this type of Lancaster imprint was the very first book printed there, issued by Chattrin in 1751, *A Paper Concerning Exceptions Against Some Things in the Present Mode of Administering and Receiving the Lord's Supper in Most of our Presbyterian Societies, etc.* Holland and Miller printed in 1752 the *Circular Schreiben der Vereinigten Reformirten Prediger in Pennsylvanien an die diesige*

*samtliche Reformirten Gemeinde*. On subscription, Dunlap reprinted *Devout Exercises of the Heart, in Meditation and Soliloque, Prayer, and Praise*, by "Mrs. Rowe," in 1754. In later years, Jacob Bailey issued *The Gospel Nicodemus, or Historical Statements Relative to the Life of Jesus Christ* (1784), and "A Refutation of Free Will," described by the printer as "a new, never before printed book." It may well have been for their book, *Das Zurbilde hes heilsamen Worten, vom Glauben und Liebe so in Christo Jesu ist; Oder Die Lehre nach der Gottseligkeit*, edited by John Henry Reitzer, that the printers Steimer, Albrecht, and Lahn received the first prize awarded by the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufacturing and the Useful Arts for the finest specimen of a bound book of no fewer than 150 pages printed from type and on paper made in Pennsylvania. Popular sermons were occasionally printed, including one by the Rev. Thomas Barton entitled *Unanimity and Public Spirit: A Sermon Preached at Carlisle and some other Episcopal Churches in the Counties of York and Cumberland, soon After General Braddock's Defeat*, published by Dunlap in 1755.<sup>35</sup>

During his sojourn in the borough, William Dunlap printed numerous works of interest to back-country Presbyterians; indeed, about one-fourth of the titles issued in Lancaster prior to 1770 fell into this category. Dunlap printed four editions of the catechism authorized by the Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and in 1753 was commissioned to reprint the Rev. Mr. Thomas Clark's *Remarks Upon the Manner and Form of Swearing by Touching and Kissing the Gospels*. The schism between Old and New Side Presbyterians produced a spate of polemical tracts which this craftsman was called upon to reprint: *A Warning of the Presbytery of New Castle, to the People's Care, Against Several Errors and Evil Practices Of Mr. John Cuthbertson; With an Appendix relating to the Seceders* (1754); the Rev. Samuel Delap's *Remarks on Some Articles of the Seceder's New Covenant And their Act of Presbytery, Making It the Term of Ministerial and Christian Communion* (1754); the Rev. Alexander Gellalty's *A Detection of Injurious Reasonings and Unjust Representations* (1756), and—the last volley in this trans-Atlantic theological skirmish between feuding hot-gos-pellers—R. Smith's *Detection Detected, or a Vindication of the Rev'd Mr. Delap and New Castle Presbytery* (1757).<sup>36</sup>

Polemics and other religious tracts did not, however, comprise the total output of the Lancaster press. Timely pieces, dealing with civil liberties, political controversies, and other matters were occasionally published. One of the most significant advances in political liberties to come out of colonial America was reported in *A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger, Printer of the New York Weekly*, which Dunlap released in 1756. Of timely interest during the French and Indian War was *A*

*Narrative of the Sufferings and Surprising Deliverance of William and Elizabeth Fleming who were taken Captive by . . . the Indians*, issued in the same year. Francis Bailey, whose output of books and pamphlets far exceed that of any other Lancaster printer in this period, made his own impressions of Thomas Dilworth's *New Guide to the English Tongue* (1778), Edward Harvey's *The Manual Exercises* (1775), *The Laws of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (1777), as well as Lutheran and Reformed "ABC" and "Name-Books." During the political debate between England and the colonies, and the war which ensued, he issued Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776), *A Sermon on Tea* (1774), Shipley's "Speech Intended to Have Been Spoken on the Bill for Altering the charters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay" (1774—"fifth edition"), "The Credentials of C. A. Gerard as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States" (1778), and "The Definitive Peace Treaty Between Great Britain and the United States of America." Some of the works printed by Bailey were original editions, such as Hugh M. Brackenridge's *Six Political Discourses* (1778), the Rev. John Carmichael's *A Self-Defensive War Lawful* (1775), and what appears to have been the first printing of the Articles of Confederation (1777) as well as a German edition of the same document (1778). During his brief stay in Lancaster, the Philadelphia printer John Dunlap issued the first edition of the fifth paper in Thomas Paine's *The American Crisis* (1778), Dr. Benjamin Rush's *Directions for Preserving the Health of Soldiers*, and an English language edition of the Articles of Confederation.<sup>37</sup>

Probably the most widely read issues of the Lancaster press were the almanacs produced by five of the printers who worked in the borough, beginning with the *Almanack for the Year of our Lord 1752*, by "G. G. Astronomical Professor," published in and sold from the printshop of James Chattin—who may, indeed, have written it as well. Not until the 1770's, however, was another work of this sort printed locally. Francis Bailey published "The Lancaster ALMANACK" from 1771 to 1776, at least, and also issued a German-language compendium, "Der Ganz Neue Verbesserte Nord Americanische Calendar . . . bei Anthony Sharp," which first appeared in 1776. In addition to the typical contents, Bailey's almanacs provided instructive and amusing articles. "The Lancaster ALMANACK" for 1773 presented essays on such subjects as "the Atheist's mistake," "an experienced method of preventing flies from damaging turnips, cabbage, etc.," recommended to the notice of farmers, and "Dimsdale's art of inoculation"; the almanac for 1776 offered "a number of useful and instructive essays, selected from good authors," including the Count de Buffon's "table of the duration of life," an essay on American liberty, and an effectual, simple antidote against bad husbands, "recom-



mended to the particular attention of those wives who are yoked with such." Stewart Herbert is believed to have printed "the Country-Man's Almanac for 1775," but nothing more is known of it; and Matthias Bartgis published "The Newest North American Almanac" from 1776 to 1779, inclusive. When Theophilus Cossart and Company began publishing "Der Republicanische Calendar" in 1778, they did so with a boast that it was "the first German Almanac to make its appearance in the world since the formation of the American republic"—thus justifying, in the publishers' opinion, the style "Republican Almanac." Steimer, Albrecht, and Lahn published "The New, Useful Agricultural Calendar," a German-language work first issued in 1787. These Lancaster almanacs enjoyed a wide circulation; Cossart's, for example, were distributed in Philadelphia, Germantown, Ephrata, Reading, Lebanon, and York, Pennsylvania, as well as in Frederickstown, Hagerstown, and Baltimore, Maryland, "and elsewhere."<sup>38</sup>

Several newspapers were published at one time or another in the borough, but not until the end of the period did there appear a sheet destined to last more than a few years. During his sojourn in Lancaster, Samuel Holland essayed the first newsheet of local origin — *Die Lancastersche Zeitung; Oder Ein Kurzer Begriff Der Hauptfachlichten Ausländische und Einheimischen Neuigkeiten* (*The Lancaster Gazette; or a Brief Account of the Principal Foreign and Domestic News*). The inspiration for this, the first inland newspaper of English North America, can be traced to Benjamin Franklin, then publishing his *Hoch-Teutsche und Englische Zeitung*, of which the Lancaster journal appears to have been a direct descendant; indeed, the most famous of America's colonial printers discontinued his own publication in January, 1752, "one of the same kind being now done in Lancaster by good Hands, which our Customers may have delivered them here without Charge of Postage." The press and type—Gothic style for German printing—used for the Lancaster paper were rented from Franklin by Holland, and may have been the same used for the master printer's German newspaper. Like its Philadelphia prototype, the *Lancastersche Zeitung* was a bilingual sheet with parallel columns printed in German and English. The first issue appeared on January 15, 1752, published by Holland and his assistant, Heinrich Miller, who soon withdrew from the partnership. In its bi-weekly editions, the *Zeitung* purveyed largely "Foreign Advices," but "Home News" kept readers informed of developments on the American mainland and in the West Indies. Commercial items, such as the prices current in Philadelphia, and advertisements subscribed by merchants there, were regular features. Sometime during the summer of 1753 the paper was discontinued and Holland left the borough. His successor, William Dunlap, initiated prepa-

rations for issuing a similar organ in weekly editions, but seems never to have realized the project.<sup>39</sup>

The War for Independence spawned the next attempts at a locally published newspaper. In those gloomy and tumultuous times “intelligence” was at a premium. John Dunlap moved his *Pennsylvania Packet* to the borough while the State government was located there, but his was, of course, an English-language sheet of little convenience for the majority of residents in and about Lancaster. Consequently, a number of the German-speaking inhabitants, noting “with great satisfaction” that the Supreme Executive Council had agreed to circulate Dunlap’s paper, asked the same support of government for a German counterpart, they being “used to Dutch newspapers which (is well known) cannot be provided from the places they were got formerly.” The Supreme Executive Council agreed to take and to distribute five hundred German papers weekly, and on February 4, 1778, Francis Bailey—who had been turning out single sheets plainly, but nonetheless deliciously, entitled “NEWS”—inaugurated *Das Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-Blat*, which appeared in four-page editions until the State government returned to the capital. Bailey began a new sheet, *The Lancaster Mercury*, in the ensuing autumn, but it ceased to be published when Bailey moved to Philadelphia; why he did not continue the former German-language sheet is not clear.<sup>40</sup>

Not until 1787, when Steimer, Albrecht, and Lahn produced the first issue of the *Neue Unparthyesche Lancasterische Zeitung und Anzeigs-Nachrichter*, was a successful periodical launched in the town. It was a small sheet, containing four pages of three columns each, issued weekly. In a prospectus published on June 5, 1787, the printers explained their reason for establishing the paper by noting that “Lancaster . . . lies not only more in the middle of the country, by which a considerable sum of money for postage will be saved, but it also has a peculiar advantage in that it is almost entirely German and surrounded by German settlers, and even now has been selected as the site of a German High-School [Franklin College].” In the first number, appearing on August 8, 1787, the publishers thanked their neighbors for the encouragement received and promised that “all care, diligence, and pains will be expended to make this newspaper useful to the community; to this end, [the editors] will from time to time insert moral and instructive essays for youth, which may also be placed in the hands of young adults”; they pledged themselves, moreover, to observe “the strictest impartiality” and stipulated that their paper would not serve “as a means, through anonymous pieces, to attack or throw suspicion upon people’s character.” The paper circulated throughout nearby Pennsylvania and Maryland, keeping its readers well informed on local, national, and international events. Lancastrians could be informed as to “The Rea-

sons why Elbridge Gerry has not Subscribed to the New Constitution," James Wilson's "Speech on the Foundations of the United States Constitution," "The Last Revolution in Sweden," and other matters.<sup>41</sup>

— V —

Among the residents of Lancaster was a coterie of learned and ingenious men who brought to their community a reputation for harboring some of "the most intelligent Society" to be found in America. Rather than in the arts, they manifested their brilliance in mechanical science and the study of nature. They were reflectors of the empirical temper of their age, fascinated with the world about them—its flora and fauna, its mineral wealth, its physical laws—and they were intrigued, as well, with the heavens above them. The clear relationship between their attitudes and those generally characteristic of the Enlightenment is revealed in their preference for the experimental rather than the theoretical approach to knowledge. Inquisitive in mental outlook, optimistic in their view of the prospects for mankind's improvement, they were eager to add their mite to "the Store of Useful Knowledge," and made important contributions which their learned contemporaries deemed worthy of recognition. Five residents of the borough, it should be noted, won election to that most distinguished company of intellectuals—the American Philosophical Society.

Aside from its collection of books, the Juliana Library Company owned an assortment of scientific instruments, including in 1776 "a small Orrery or Planetarium" given by Lady Juliana Penn, four globes, two telescopes, microscopes, a camera obscura, "a large and curious set of Mathematical Instruments, in a shagreen case," a sea-quadrant, mercurial thermometer, and a Toricellian barometer; there may later have been added "an Electrical Apparatus, on the model of the ingenious Messieurs Franklin and Kinnersley." Members interested in "all sorts of Curiositys" could find in the library room some "curious mines, minerals, and fossils," given by the Rev. Thomas Barton, as well as an ostrich egg, "preserved in a neat turned case."<sup>42</sup>

Natural history was the particular delight of at least two men of the town, both of them ministers. The Reverend Mr. Barton, conversant in mathematics and astronomy, fields in which he directed the first inquiries of his brother-in-law, David Rittenhouse, was an avid naturalist. At a time when few people in America displayed interest in the mineral wealth of the North American continent, he assembled a considerable collection of Pennsylvania specimens. Doubtless, the Juliana Library's collection of mineral samples owed its existence largely to him, and from time to time

the enthusiastic curate shared interesting finds with correspondents in the colonies and in England. To Sir William Johnson of New York, he once sent a "Jet D'eau" as well as some other "really curious" things, while his good friend Thomas Penn of London received fossils and ore samples from him. Recognition of his interest and contributions to American mineralogy earned for Barton admission to the American Philosophical Society in 1768, where he joined with pleasure the committee on natural history.<sup>43</sup> The Rev. Gotthilf H. E. Muhlenberg, the first principal of Franklin College, displayed "a very considerable knowledge of natural history," concluded Johann Schoepf after a visit with him in 1783, and was "unwearied in the study of animals, plants, and minerals of his region." At the time of Schoepf's encounter with him, Muhlenberg had begun a collection of domestic minerals "indeed small as yet, but nonetheless remarkable" since, according to the former, a better collection was "nowhere to be found." The display included *shorl* from the immediate vicinity of Lancaster, *carnelians* and other colored pebbles from Conestoga Creek, *lead-spar* from Pequea Creek, pit coals and slate from the Susquehanna River, whetstones and touchstones, "of which the goldsmiths make good use," crystalline iron ore, and brine-flecked marble. From the court councilor Schieter in Erlangen, Germany, with whom he carried on "an extensive correspondence," Muhlenberg received books and "specimens for minerals."<sup>44</sup>

The variety, growth, and peculiar characteristics of American plants were also of interest to individual Lancastrians. Not far from the rectory of St. James's Church, the Reverend Mr. Barton maintained a botanical garden. James Webb, the elder, a former burgess who was elected to the Philosophical Society in 1768, revealed his researches into this branch of nature in a paper "Concerning the Root used by the Indians to dye a red Color," read at a meeting of the society. It was, perhaps, an interest in plants and flowers which accounts for the microscope owned by the attorney David Stout. But the most distinguished botanist in the borough was the Reverend Mr. Muhlenberg, whose contribution to the identification and classification of North American flora earned for him in some quarters the distinction of being "the American Linnaeus." Each year he kept a "Naturtagebuch" or "Nature Diary," in which he noted the plants he encountered—especially the grasses—in his perambulations about the vicinity of Lancaster. Eventually, indeed, he classified more than one thousand plants, which he found within a three-mile radius of the borough, recording them in two manuscripts: "Nachricht von baumen und standen die in der gegemd von Lancaster wild oder naturalisert wachsen" (1787), and "Pflanzen die ich noch nicht nach dem Linne bestimmen kann." As a result of Muhlenberg's correspondence with European bot-



anists and others working in North America, his own work was facilitated; indeed, through his contacts with European bryologists he was able to make some early contributions to that field, and obtained from his contacts *cryptogams* of considerable value. The American Philosophical Society added the name of "this great pedestrian" to its roster of members in 1783; shortly afterwards, he presented to that body a copy of his *Flora Lancastriensis*, as well as a manuscript calendar of flowers, "which were referred to the Committee on Natural History and Chemistry."<sup>45</sup>

Frederick Valentine Melsheimer, professor of the German language at Franklin College and the second principal of the institution, was dubbed by some men of his day "the Father of American Entomology," and may well have been at work in this period on *A Catalogue of Insects of Pennsylvania*, published in 1806.<sup>46</sup>

The lovers of science in Lancaster devoted some of their attention to astronomical phenomena. As early as 1745, the Rev. Richard Locke, first rector of St. James's Church, forwarded to his superior in London the description of an eclipse of the moon observed in the borough on February 13 of that year. "I was very exact in the observation," he reported, "it began in the same manner at 10 h.p.m. as it ended at 2 the next morning . . . ." The "Opposition or full moon was within a minute of 12 a clock." Comparing the figures he obtained at Lancaster with those gathered by observers in London, the minister calculated the distance between the two points to be 2,552 miles "in a strait line."<sup>47</sup> A display of the Aurora Borealis in January, 1769, engaged the attention of another townsman — perhaps, the Rev. Thomas Barton — who communicated his information to the American Philosophical Society, where it appeared, anonymously, in the first volume of that association's *Transactions*.<sup>48</sup> Lancastrians joined amateurs and professional scientists from Massachusetts to the Carolinas in June, 1769, in noting one of the most significant astronomical occurrences in the eighteenth century — the transit of Venus, which would not be repeated for another 150 years. Two official observations were sponsored in Pennsylvania, one by David Rittenhouse at Norrington (at which the Rev. Thomas Barton was present), and another at Philadelphia; but a third observation, apparently unknown to historians of science in America, was made in the borough. The proper telescope and well-regulated timepieces were available in Lancaster, but Edward Shippen and the others who attempted an observation there were unsuccessful, probably because of improper calculations and the lack of the requisite information which had to be gained from prior observation of the heavens. "As to our disappointment in not seeing the Contact of Venus," Shippen wrote to his son, "we endeavoured to compose ourselves; but we had taken care to fix a Meridian Line, and

had provided 2 or three good Watches which were the best timepieces that we could procure. But we hope that the accurate Observations . . . will answer the expectations of the Learned.”<sup>49</sup>

For genius in the mechanical arts, few towns in America could boast of a more gifted craftsman than William Henry. Renowned as a master gunsmith of the Pennsylvania rifle, he demonstrated an ability in other areas which earned him the respect of many men of science, including David Rittenhouse, who corresponded with his Lancaster friend from time to time. Eminently practical in the use of his talents, Henry was not devoid of those half-visionary conceptions which contribute so largely to the advancement of science. When the idea of utilizing steam in navigation first occurred to “this ingenious Mechanic” is not known, but in 1763 he made his first experiments of this type; a small stern-wheeler, propelled by an engine fitted with paddles, slid briefly along the surface of Conestoga Creek, but the pounding action of the powerful, and doubtless noisy, engine was too much for the structurally weak craft. Henry is supposed to have built another model, but whether he ever made a similar experiment is not known. He did continue to devote some of his time to the problems of inland navigation. In the 1770’s he served, along with his friend Rittenhouse, on a committee of the Pennsylvania Assembly studying the feasibility of a canal connection between the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers. When Johann Schoepf visited him in 1783, Henry displayed to him a machine “which attached to a boat must bring it against the current of a stream, being set in motion merely by the force of the current and of the wind.” The inventor had no plans “to publish” his device at that time, however, “until he has reason to expect some reward for his invention, for he is sure that by means of it, the difficult return passage on the Mississippi and the Ohio may be considerably eased to the advantage of his country.”<sup>50</sup>

More practical success rewarded Henry’s endeavors. Five years after his abortive experiment on the Conestoga, he revealed to fellow members of the American Philosophical Society—he was elected in 1767—his “Self-Moving or Sentinel Register.” Designed to insure the output of uniform heat from a furnace, the machine automatically opened or closed the flue as the degree of warmth increased or decreased. Keenly aware of the practical potentialities of such a device, Henry expected that it might be used not only to regulate the heat “of chymical or alchymical furnaces, where long digestion and a uniform degree of heat are required,” but also in making steel and burning porcelain ware, in green or hot houses, and in apartments for hatching chickens “according to the Egyptian method”: with a little alteration, indeed, it might be used “to open doors, windows, and other passages, for a draught of air, and thereby preserve a due temperature of the air in hospitals &c.” An illustration and description of this

novel machine appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in June, 1767, and was included in the first volume of *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society. At the time of Schoepf's visit, Henry was at work on "a little machine . . . designed to go against the wind." The gunsmith employed his leisure in making "other experiments magnetick and electrical"—which Schoepf thought showed him to be "a thinking and self-examining man"—and was keenly interested in the work of the Philosophical Society, frequently contributing to its meetings as well as to its collection of geological and paleontological specimens. Descriptions of his work were sought after by this learned body, and shortly after Henry's death the society heard a memoir in the form of a paper composed by the Lancaster correspondent "On the effects of heat in conducting the electric fluid and explaining the phenomena of thunder, the Aurora borealis, &c."<sup>51</sup>

Several Lancastrians showed more than usual ability in the fine arts. Ferdinand Huck, a native of Mayence, Germany, painted several water colors and oils, including a small portrait of himself on wood; more impressive, according to observers, was his original conception of the Crucifixion, drawn for the Roman Catholic mission in the borough, where it served as a mural decoration behind the altar. Robert Fulton, who began his illustrious career not as a man of science but as a painter, filled his boyhood sketch-pads with scenes of local life, including portraits of the Hessian prisoners lodged in the barracks during the War for Independence. Thanks to a "common sign painter," Jacob Eichholtz, who achieved some reputation as a painter in the nineteenth century, supplemented his self-taught drawing ability with more formal instruction in painting. Several residents of the town appreciated artistic talent and were willing to encourage it. Young Benjamin West, on a visit to Lancaster in 1752, was reputedly encouraged by the gunsmith William Henry to execute a historical portrait from the life—"The Death of Socrates"—for which a craftsman in Henry's shop is said to have served as a model. Among West's earliest portraits, indeed, were two of William Henry and his wife, Anne.<sup>52</sup>

The townsmen had at least one author in their midst. In response to Benjamin Franklin's *Narrative of the Late Massacres by the Paxton Boys*, a villification of those back-country settlers who took matters into their own hands at Lancaster, the Rev. Thomas Barton published anonymously in 1764 a pamphlet entitled *The Conduct of the Paxton Men Impartially Represented*, championing the cause of the frontier residents and tearing at the hypocrisy of Quaker pacifism as well as the injustice of Quaker government. Although there is good reason not to believe it, the *Letter from a Tradesman in Lancaster to the Merchants of the Cities of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, respecting the Loan of Money to the Government*, published in 1760 and signed by one John Frederick Koffler—was this a

play on the German word for coffer?—may well have been written pseudonymously by a resident of the borough. During the French and Indian War, Edward Shippen composed, but did not publish, “a French Dialogue”; and when the fighting was over he was assiduous in securing from England a collection of French letters intercepted during the conflict, which he translated “for my amusement here in the Wilderness.” Johannes Herbst, who would win wide acclaim as a composer of Moravian church music, was the minister at St. Andrew’s Church in Lancaster from 1786 to 1791, but no manuscripts dating from that time are known to exist.<sup>53</sup>

— VI —

By 1790, Lancaster was, next to Philadelphia, the most important intellectual center in Pennsylvania. More than this, it was a focus for an emerging “Pennsylvania-Dutch” culture. The almanacs, books, and newspapers published there were widely read in German-immigrant enclaves many miles beyond the borough. These, as well as Steimer, Albrecht, and Lahn’s “lese-Bibliothek” of largely German titles, served to perpetuate a language and a mode of self-identification which were zealously cherished by many of the townsmen. And the benefits to be derived from the schools, libraries, and other accoutrements of urbanity to be found in the town by its fifth decade of existence were not to be confined to a few, but rather to be disseminated more widely, among an ever-increasing number of people. Its inland setting notwithstanding, Lancaster—or at least some Lancastrians who “dared to know”—made modest contributions to the intellectual stirring and progressive achievement which were important and transforming elements of European culture in the eighteenth century.





## EPILOGUE

# A Bid for the Nation's Town

SIX years after they began their experiment with federalism, Americans saw the need for a stronger union. Federal government was a difficult problem, for the people, jealous of the sovereignty of their states and fundamentally suspicious of central authority, were loath to give the Congress of the Confederation a sanction for the national authority it possessed on paper — and *that*, of course, was limited. The national government had no authority to tax or to regulate commerce. Some states ignored their contractual obligations or trespassed on powers they had relinquished. There was, in the central government, neither an executive nor a judiciary. “I do not conceive we can exist long as a nation,” George Washington wrote to John Jay in August, 1786, “without having lodged somewhere a power, which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State governments extends over the several States.”<sup>1</sup> In recognition of the defects of their first attempt at federalism, the American people scrapped the Articles of Confederation altogether and produced at Philadelphia, in the summer of 1787, a new Constitution of the United States. It was a stronger form of federalism, the essence of which was the sanction provided for the authority of the central government, and the more certain protection accorded the rights of property.

Lancastrians generally favored the new plan of government. When the State of Pennsylvania ratified the document in December, 1787, local citizens expressed their delight by firing cannon and tolling the church bells. “It is the belief of all honest citizens,” wrote the publishers of the *Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung*, “that if the Constitution is accepted by all the States it would be of great benefit to the land.”<sup>2</sup> Jasper Yeates, a delegate to the Pennsylvania ratifying convention, was among those who approved of the document; on the morning that he and the other local delegates returned to Lancaster, the citizens “fired a morning gun, and at twelve o’clock thirteen rounds were fired out of a piece of artillery . . . . From that time, until night, all the bells in town were ringing.” One observer remarked that he had never “been a witness to so much respect being paid by the people to their Delegates, or of more general joy upon any occasion.”<sup>3</sup>

There is reason to believe that sentiment in favor of the Constitution was stronger in the borough than in the county at large. Certainly, the town was the focal point of all the celebrations and demonstrations held in support of the document. In June, 1788, during a ceremony replete with political symbolism, Federalist leaders organized "a Procession of the FEDERAL BOAT from the Borough . . . to Conestogoe Creek"; there, the captain and a company of citizens launched the vessel "with a dexterity and agility worthy of praise." After giving thirteen cheers, the revellers "unanimously retired to the House of Mr. John Swenk upon the Bank of Conestogoe to regale themselves, and, after toasting the *New Constitution*, retired to Lancaster in the most perfect Harmony and in the same regular order of Procession in which they set out."<sup>4</sup> At the annual fourth of July celebration for that year, local supporters of the new federalism used the occasion not only to commemorate the Revolution, but also to demonstrate in favor of the Constitution and to celebrate its ratification by Virginia.<sup>5</sup> There is no record of any anti-Federalist activity in the town. That Lancaster had a reputation for being "warmly Federal" probably explains why it was chosen as the site for an important State-wide political meeting in November, 1788, when representatives from all the counties of Pennsylvania met to recommend eight persons to serve in the first House of Representatives in the new Congress, as well as ten electors who would choose the president and vice president of the republic.<sup>6</sup>

One of the first matters to be decided by the new government would be the location of a permanent seat for the nation's capital. Many towns competed expectantly for the prize that would mean so much in terms of their economic and political development. Lancaster was among them, but faced other rivals close at hand in the town of York and the settlement at Wright's Ferry. As early as February, 1789, at a send-off dinner for Thomas Hartley, one of Pennsylvania's delegates to the House of Representatives, the participants proposed as a toast that "York-town or Lancaster be the permanent residence of Congress."<sup>7</sup> In a letter to Jasper Yeates, in March, 1789, Senator William Maclay of Pennsylvania stated that he was "almost certain that the permanent residence of Congress will be agitated at the ensuing session" and chided Yeates that he had received no response from Lancaster to the letters which he had sent there for information as to the advantages the town might possess as a capital site. Maclay urged that the townspeople encourage William Hamilton, the proprietor of Lancaster, to provide "some member of Congress with proposals under his hand relative to the terms on which he would give grounds for public Buildings and let lots for private Persons. With all the pains you may take it is possible you may not succeed," Maclay remonstrated, "but without pains you need not expect it."<sup>8</sup>

Actually, the citizens of Lancaster had not been at all inactive. Even before Maclay's message arrived, they had formed a committee to draft letters setting forth Lancaster's advantages as a site for the capital to be sent to each house of Congress. The leaders knew that the success or failure of their dream would depend in the first instance upon the general criteria Congress might have in mind for a national town; if a seaport city, then, as Jasper Yeates informed Maclay, "we have no Pretensions . . . to the Honor"; but if a "Central Situation" were preferred, the citizens could offer to Congress "an Inland Town in a considerable degree of Improvement, a well-cultivated and fertile Country, a healthy Situation and Inhabitants industrious." Clearly, the town leaders were also aware of the tremendous boost Lancaster would receive if they were victorious; indeed, they saw as a point in their favor the fact that in their case "the Contentions of rival and Commercial [i.e. seaport] Cities does not come to Question"; such cities, because of their natural advantages, would continue to grow and prosper under any circumstances; besides, if a commercial city were chosen as the capital town, it might soon come to have an "obnoxious" and detrimental effect on the other commercial centers of the United States.<sup>9</sup>

On March 17, 1789, the Lancaster committee dispatched its finished letters to the Congress at New York over the signature of Edward Hand, the chief burgess. Copies were sent to the Pennsylvania delegates in the Senate and House; a map of the Lancaster area went out a little later. Lancaster had previously been considered by the Congress of the Confederation as a potential capital, the committee noted in their letter, "and we suffer ourselves to be flattered that the reasons which then subsisted for such a choice exist more strongly at the present moment." As an inland town, the residents of Lancaster considered their community not "inferior to any within the Dominion of the United States. Our Lands are remarkably fertile and in a High State of Cultivation. Our Country is possessed of every Conveniency for Water Works . . . and peculiarly healthy; our Water is good; Every necessary Material for Building is to be had in the greatest Quantity desired . . .; and we venture to assert that there is no Part of the United States which can boast within the Compass of ten Miles the same number of Waggon and good Teams with ourselves."<sup>10</sup>

The Lancaster committee knew, of course, that such general considerations would have "no Effect with dispassionate and temperate Minds." What particular advantages did Lancaster have to offer? Following a description of the town's physiognomy, the letter revealed that there were more than 678 houses in the borough, many of which were "large, elegant, and commodious, and would in our Idea accommodate Congress and their Suite at this Period without Inconvenience." With more than



forty "houses of public entertainment" in the town, boarding facilities were quite adequate; the many roads converging at Lancaster made it "a thoroughfare to the 4 Cardinal Points of the Compass." Labor and building materials were plentiful and cheap.<sup>11</sup>

In their letter, the committee also stressed the industrial development of Lancaster and the surrounding region. "Within the distance of 9 and 30 Miles from this Place we have 6 Furnaces, 7 Forges, 2 Slitting Mills, and 2 Rolling Mills for the Manufacture of Iron. Within a Compass of 10 miles square, we have 18 merchant Mills, 16 Saw Mills, 1 Fulling Mill, 4 Oil Mills, 5 Hemp Mills, 2 Boring and Grinding Mills for Gun Barrels and 8 Tan Yards. There are a great Number of Convenient Sites for Water Works still unoccupied." Nestled in the heart of fledgling industrial enterprises, Lancaster was itself a haven for artisans, the committee continued. The borough alone could boast of fourteen hatters, thirty-eight shoemakers, four tanners, seventeen saddlers, twenty-five tailors, twenty-two butchers, twenty-five weavers, three stockingweavers, twenty-five blacksmiths and whitesmiths, six wheelwrights, twenty-one bricklayers and masons, twelve bakers, thirty carpenters, eleven coopers, six plasterers, six clock and watch makers, six tobacconists, four dyers, seven gunsmiths, five ropemakers, four tin men, two brass founders, three skindressers, one brickmaker, seven tanners, seven nailers, five silversmiths, three potters, and three coppersmiths—"besides their respective Journeymen and Apprentices." There were, in addition, three breweries, three brickyards, and two printing houses. Finally, the committee pointed out the town's "Centrical Situation" by quoting the distances between Lancaster and the major cities and larger towns of the middle states. "Permit us only to add," the letter concluded, "that our Citizens are federal and strongly attached to the new System of government."<sup>12</sup>

Upon finishing their draft of the letters to Congress, the committee dispatched a message to William Hamilton, the town proprietor, asking him to assure Congress that if they considered Lancaster a proper seat of national government he would make his land available on easy terms. The report that Congress would most likely consider a location somewhere between the Delaware and the Susquehanna rivers made their plea more urgent. "In one Word, My Dear Sir," Jasper Yeates told him, "I would almost if not quite give them a carte blanche." Hamilton never shared the faith of his tenants at Lancaster regarding the town's bid for the capital. "As to Lancaster's being fixed on," he wrote to his private secretary in August, 1789, "it appears to me to be the most unlikely thing that can happen, there being no member of Congress or Senate interested [i.e. personally] in the measure, at the same time that every one of them has a place in view in order to serve his own interest." Nonetheless, "for the satisfaction of having

complied with the wishes of my Tenants," Hamilton went to New York to do what he could, though he "had better been at home."<sup>13</sup>

Thomas Hartley, a member of the Pennsylvania delegation in the House, kept Jasper Yeates informed of developments. He was fully aware, however, that other Pennsylvania towns were in rivalry for the prize, and never exaggerated Lancaster's possibilities. "If we should be fortunate enough to have the permanent seat of Congress established at Lancaster, York, or Wright's Ferry," he adroitly wrote on one occasion, "I imagine neither of the Houses of Lancaster or York would be much dissatisfied." In August, 1789, Hartley confidentially told Yeates that the question would be "agitated" early in September.<sup>14</sup>

But action came sooner than Hartley expected. On August 22, the petitions from Lancaster, Trenton, York, and other places were read in the House. "All is intrigue," Hartley informed his friends in Lancaster, and sentiment increased in favor of New York City. By this time, it was becoming clear that rivalries within the State of Pennsylvania were lessening the possibility that any location there would be chosen. "If possible," Hartley presented the case to Yeates, "the Pennsylvanians should be united, for divided we fall." During the first week of September, the hope of Pennsylvanians soared with the news that a committee of the whole House voted for the banks of the Susquehanna as the permanent seat, and New York City as the temporary one. By that time, too, the Pennsylvania delegation were reportedly "unanimous in our Measures." Now it was clear that Lancaster would not likely succeed, but as Hartley assured Yeates on September 18, "if our Troops stand firm we shall chuse a Spot not far from you." But the Congressman hastened to add that "all is still uncertain; so much Shifting; such changing, and so many various Interests jarring with each other puts everything afloat."<sup>15</sup>

By this time, the most realistic citizens in the borough had probably concluded that their personal cause was lost; but there was still hope for a location somewhere on the Susquehanna near Lancaster. Then came the crushing news. "I am afraid we are blown up," Hartley wrote bluntly to Yeates. "We shall probably divide [i.e. vote] today, and then I fear all will go to ruin. The Jealousy of the Susquehanna [by other states] will probably cost Pennsylvania the federal Seat . . . I wish to prepare your mind for the worst. A stronger Representation from the Center of the State would have done no Injury upon the present Occasion."<sup>16</sup>

Promotion, so important to Lancaster at its founding and in its development, had failed on this occasion. The permanent location of the nation's capital would not be decided for another two years, and then it would be within the context of political compromise between the emerging Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian factions within the central government.

## CONCLUSION

But that is another story. In the eighteenth century, Lancaster served the needs of an expanding frontier population in western Pennsylvania and adjacent provinces—in addition to those of the farmland immediately surrounding it. In its role as an emporium for the advancing line of frontier settlement, the town was eclipsed at the close of the century by other communities farther west; but this did not diminish its regional economic significance. The movement of a large number of immigrants into the town, and the offspring generated by these residents, rapidly increased the population so that Lancaster became and remained until the turn of the nineteenth century the largest inland settlement in British North America. As it grew, the town exhibited characteristics which were truly urban in nature—similar, indeed, to those of Philadelphia and the other cities of colonial America.

The residents of the borough lived in a generally expansive age and in an immediate environment which imposed minimal restraints on the maximizing of private opportunity. This situation was, in most respects, a boon to the rapid re-creation of European civilization in the back country. The possibilities for personal advancement—in a New World for the immigrants or a new town for the scions of established Americans—brought a diversity of people to the crossroads on the Conestoga. They did not begin life in Lancaster as equals; no “frontier democracy” ever characterized this inland settlement. Free men and bound men, rich men and poor, landlords and tenants were present almost from the start. The distribution of wealth—related to the town’s commercial function and increasingly uneven as the century wore on—spelled relatively decreasing opportunity for many and impressively enlarging command of financial resources for a few. Such a social configuration, probably the inevitable outcome of the political and economic order of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, proved inimical to the achievement of a sense of community in Lancaster.

The unequal distribution of wealth was only one of several divisive forces. Ethnically and religiously, the borough was not one town but several towns. “Engellanders” and “Dutchmen” were not altogether able to overcome their cultural differences and their hostilities, though the evidences of social and biological integration of the two groups, and the assimilation of limited elements of English culture by the Germans pointed to a more harmonious future. Religious animosity also kept Lancastrians apart, but there were impressive indications of increasing inter-denominational cooperation and respect for the individual’s right of conscience.

If the government designed for the borough had really achieved its majoritarian potential, it might have served as a corrective to social frag-

mentation. Entitled to the privilege of self-government through the institution of the town meeting, but deprived at the same time of fiscal autonomy, the townsmen remained aloof from the day-to-day governance of their community, leaving it to a handful of wealthy, elected officials. As a result, the potential scope for communal decision-making was even further reduced as new and autonomous agencies of local administration exercised a portion of that authority which Lancastrians eschewed.

The history of American society has been, above all else, a story of the encounter, reaction, and interaction of diverse peoples; of attempts to define and to secure the public interest in the face of a multiplicity of competing private needs and ambitions; of efforts to achieve community within heterogeneity. The nation's first revolution—that rejection of holistic blueprints for society in favor of an unprecedented scope for private initiative, which occurred well before the separation from England—provided the social context in which the goal of harmony could be sought. American politics—the very architecture of government, with its stress upon pervasive representation—is geared to serve that end. American religious life—characterized by voluntarism and denominationalism rather than establishmentarianism and uniformity—was shaped in terms of this overriding purpose. American social relations—the ongoing dialectic between ethnocentrism and assimilation—reflect the continued relevance of the quest. The search for community goes on at many levels within the society, but most immediately, most often, and most profoundly in the villages, the towns, and the cities. Lancaster was one of the first places where the search began, and its eighteenth-century history was, in many respects, “typically American,” an announcement of themes to be repeated in other American towns, in later days.





# Notes

## Abbreviations Used in the Notes

APS.	Library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
HSP.	The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
LC.	Manuscript Division, the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
LCCH-PO.	The Lancaster County Courthouse, Office of the Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
LCCH-QS.	The Lancaster County Courthouse, Office of the Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
LCCH-RO.	The Lancaster County Courthouse, Recorder's Office, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
LCHS.	The Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
LCHS. <i>Journal</i>	<i>The Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society</i> (1896-), issued until 1957 as <i>Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society</i> . I have used the designation <i>Journal</i> for the entire run.
LCP.	The Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgeway Branch. Manuscripts formerly in the LCP have now been deposited in the HSP.
LCTO.	The Lancaster County Treasurer's Office, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
PA.	<i>The Pennsylvania Archives</i> (Philadelphia and Harrisburg, 1852-1949).
PCR.	<i>The Colonial Records of Pennsylvania</i> (Philadelphia, 1852-1853).
PHMC.	Division of Archives and Manuscripts, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg.
PMHB.	<i>The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography</i> (1877-).

## Prologue

<sup>1</sup> Jacob I. Mombert, *An Authentic History of Lancaster County* (Lancaster, Pa. 1869), pp. 413-17; LCHS *Journal*, LXVI (1962), 87-91; PCR, III, 374.

<sup>2</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XIV (1910), 59, 65.

<sup>3</sup> Earl B. Shaw, *North America: A Regional Geography* (New York, 1959), p. 149; Sylvester K. Stevens, *Pennsylvania, Birthplace of a Nation* (New York, 1964), pp. 3-22.

<sup>4</sup> *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, I (Philadelphia, 1797), p. 242; Mombert, *Lancaster County*, pp. 111-12.

<sup>5</sup> *Laws of the Commonwealth*, I, 242.

<sup>6</sup> The county is supposed to have been named in accordance with the wishes of John Wright, one of the first county commissioners and a native of Lancashire, England. Mombert, *Lancaster County*, p. 114.

<sup>7</sup> *Laws of the Commonwealth*, I, 244.

<sup>8</sup> Samuel Hazard, *The Register of Pennsylvania*, VIII (1831-2), 60; Lancaster County Commissioners' Book (1729-1770), n.p.; Mombert, *Lancaster County*, p. 119. There seems to be no foundation for a third site mentioned by Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1883), p. 27.

<sup>9</sup> *PA*, Ser. 1, I, 252; *PCR*, III, 380–81; James Logan to John Taylor, February 14, 1730, Taylor Papers, Vol. 15, No. 3058, HSP; also Logan to Taylor, February 14, 1730 (Copy), Logan Letterbook, III, 134, HSP.

<sup>10</sup> *PCR*, III, 381; *PA*, Ser. 1, I, 252–53.

<sup>11</sup> John Taylor, "Survey of Lancaster Townstead," Taylor Papers, Vol. 13, No. 2599, HSP; Miscellaneous James and Andrew Hamilton Papers, Evans-Plaire Collection, HSP.

<sup>12</sup> *PCR*, III, 381. Local tradition—buttressed by a historical plaque—maintains that a George Gibson kept a tavern at the Lancaster site before the town was founded, and that, indeed, the town grew up around his ordinary. There seems to be no evidence for this. Gibson is not known to have taken out a tavern license before 1739. See Hazard's *Register*, VIII (1831–2), 101; IV (1829–30), 391; Ellis and Evans, *Lancaster County*, p. 27; Road Docket, I (1729–1742), LCCH-PO, *passim*. The founding of Lancaster occurred simultaneously with a new spurt of urbanization in southeastern Pennsylvania and adjacent Delaware, when Wilmington and new towns in the Pennsylvania back country were laid out. See James T. Lemon, "Urbanization and the Development of Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania and Adjacent Delaware," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., XXIV, No. 4 (October, 1967), 501–42.

<sup>13</sup> Hamilton Ground Rent Roll, LCHS; Ellis and Evans, *Lancaster County*, p. 28; LCHS *Journal*, XIX (1915), 241.

<sup>14</sup> Ellis and Evans, *Lancaster County*, p. 360.

<sup>15</sup> Confirmation of Grant, John Penn *et al.* to James Hamilton, May 21, 1734, Deedbook, Volume I, U. 662, LCCH-RO.

<sup>16</sup> Burton A. Konkle, *The Life of Andrew Hamilton* (Philadelphia, 1941), pp. 1–59.

<sup>17</sup> John Penn *et al.* to James Logan, undated but around 1730, Penn-Logan Correspondence, II, 77, HSP; James Steel to David Barclay, March 28, 1732 (Copy), James Steel Letterbook (1730–1741), p. 41, HSP; David Barclay to James Steel, August 5, 1732, Wharton MSS. (Correspondence, 1730–1739), HSP.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Penn to Jacob Taylor, May 1, 1733 (Copy), Taylor Papers, Vol. 4, No. 489, HSP; Deed, Andrew Hamilton and James Steel to James Hamilton, May 1, 1734, Deedbook, Volume I, U. 660, LCCH-RO; Confirmation of Grant, John Penn *et al.* to James Hamilton, May 21, 1734, *ibid.*, p. 662. Andrew Hamilton was also granted land in the vicinity of the town. See Andrew Hamilton to John Taylor, June 7, 1733, Taylor Papers, Vol. 15, No. 3085, HSP.

<sup>19</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XII (1908), 137–67, esp. 155–56.

<sup>20</sup> Stevens, *Pennsylvania*, p. 21; LCHS *Journal*, XII (1908), map after p. 238.

<sup>21</sup> Jasper Yeates to John Yeates, October 16, 1764, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 2, Box 13, HSP; Hazard's *Register*, VIII, 101.

<sup>22</sup> James Hamilton to [Thomas Penn], May 10, 1753, Penn MSS., Additional Miscellaneous Letters, I, 81, HSP; Hazard's *Register*, VIII, 101.

<sup>23</sup> See the Map of the Borough of Lancaster, 1742, LCHS.

<sup>24</sup> See the Hamilton Rent Roll, LCHS, and early deeds LCCH-RO.

<sup>25</sup> A study of the shiplists in Ralph Strassberger and William Hinke (eds.), *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Norristown, Pa., 1934), reveals that some of the immigrants subsequently settling in Lancaster had come to America on the same ship. For example, Michael Shryack and Adam Simon Kuhn arrived at Philadelphia aboard the same ship on August 28, 1733. John Henneberger, Peter Balsbach, and Philip Shutz arrived on the same vessel, August 11, 1732. Christopher Tringle, David Tressler, and George Hatts arrived together August 9, 1738. Jacob Eichholz, Francis and Michael Fordine, and Henry Mull were shipmates arriving on August 30, 1737. Further instances could be cited.

<sup>26</sup> See the Hamilton Ground Rent Roll, LCHS; also, the deedbooks in LCCH-RO.

<sup>27</sup> In 1735, for example, Samuel Bethel was to pay £1.18.0 ground rent on three lots, one on the center square, a second on Queen Street, and an outlot. All properties, except those on the square, seem consistently to have carried a ground rent of 7s. sterling in this period. See, for instance, the deed given by James Hamilton to Samuel Bethel, May 20, 1735, Deedbook, Volume I, I, 73; Deed, Hamilton to Peter Condor, 1740, *ibid.*, p. 90; and Deed, Hamilton to George Gibson, 1741, *ibid.*, p. 95. All deeds cited are at LCCH-RO.

<sup>28</sup> James Hamilton to [Thomas Penn], May 10, 1733 (Copy), Penn MSS., Additional Miscellaneous Letters, I, 81, HSP; *PMHB*, XXIX (1905), 480.

<sup>29</sup> See the pattern of lot assignments on the Hamilton Ground Rent Roll, LCHS; also Witham Marshe, "Journal of the Treaty Held with the Six Nations By the Commissioners of Maryland and Other Provinces at Lancaster, June, 1744," in William H. Egle, *Notes and Queries . . . Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*, Ser. 3, I, 278; also Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies* (New York, 1938), pp. 303-308.

<sup>30</sup> Inventory of Estate, Edward Dougherty, 1736, Inventory File, LCTO.

<sup>31</sup> *LCHS Journal*, XLVI (1942), 57.

<sup>32</sup> This conclusion is based on the fact that although Verhulst was first granted a lot in 1735, he appears to have continued living in Hempfield Township. His inventory, 1740, mentions "a lot and timber on it for building a house." If he abided by the terms of his first deed — which included the stipulation that a house be built on the lot within one year — this 1740 lot was presumably a different one. See Deed, James Hamilton to Cornelius Verhulst, 1735, Deedbook, Volume 1, I, 101, LCCH-RO, and Inventory of Estate, Cornelius Verhulst, Inventory File, 1740-41, LCTO.

<sup>33</sup> See the Hamilton Ground Rent Roll, LCHS; also Deedbook, Volume 1, I, 72, 73, 74, 84, LCCH-RO.

<sup>34</sup> Hamilton Ground Rent Roll, LCHS.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Inventory of Estate, Richard Marsden, 1738, Inventory File, 1739, LCTO. His inventory, including "shop goods" valued at £53.11.11, suggests that he was a trader.

<sup>37</sup> John Reynell, Ledger B (1737-1763), pp. 21, 37, 38, 59, 128, HSP; Mary Dougherty to John Reynell, June 8, 1739, Dreer Collection, HSP.

<sup>38</sup> John Reynell, Ledger B, pp. 76, 98.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 98, 128.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Cookson to William Peters, March 11, 1742, Lancaster County Miscellaneous Papers (1724-1772), HSP, p. 25.

<sup>41</sup> James Steel to Samuel Blunston, May 26, 1737 (Copy), James Steel Letterbook (1730-1741), HSP.

<sup>42</sup> Road Docket I, 39, 141, 148, 315, 319, *et passim*, LCCH-PO.

<sup>43</sup> Inventory, George Camer, Inventory File, 1734-1735; Inventory, Derrick Updegraff, 1738, Inventory File, 1738-1739, LCTO.

<sup>44</sup> Joseph Henry Dubbs, "The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania," in *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*, XI (Lancaster, 1902), 100-101; Conrad Templeman to The Synodical Deputies, February 13, 1733, *Letters and Documents Relating to the Reformed Church of Pennsylvania*, II (1731-1738), Reformed Church Archives, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.; church records of the First Reformed congregation of Lancaster, 1736--1806 (William J. Hinke transcription), II, *ibid.*; *LCHS Journal*, XXXIII (1929), 151-52; XLII (1938), 182.

<sup>45</sup> Theodore E. Schmaux, "The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, 1638-1800" in *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*, XI (1902), p. 255; *Memorial Volume of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity* (Lancaster, 1861), p. 6.

<sup>46</sup> S. M. Sener, "The Catholic Church at Lancaster, Pa.," in *Journal of the American Catholic Historical Society* (Philadelphia, 1894), 3, 24; "A History of St. Mary's Catholic Church, Lancaster, Pa., 1730-1951," a typescript, documented history in the church rectory, p. vii.

<sup>47</sup> See the list of ministers in W. Stuart Crane, *History of the First Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa.* (Lancaster, 1904); Dubbs, "Reformed Church," p. 100.

<sup>48</sup> See the list of ministers in the *Memorial Volume of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity*.

<sup>49</sup> William J. Hinke (ed.), *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania, 1747-1792* (Philadelphia, 1903), p. 8.

<sup>50</sup> *LCHS Journal*, XLV (1941), 127-28; XLVI (1942), p. 49, 58.

<sup>51</sup> Sener, "The Catholic Church at Lancaster," p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> Charles L. Maurer, "Early Lutheran Education in Pennsylvania" in *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*, XL (1932), 87.



<sup>53</sup> Frederick G. Livingood, *Eighteenth-Century Reformed Church Schools* (Norristown, Pa., 1930), p. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Road Docket, I (1729-1742), 26, 76, 111, 119, 198, 233, 261, 305, 313, LCCH-PO; PCR, IV, 266-73.

<sup>55</sup> Road Docket, I, 104, 112; PCR, III, 394-95, 521-23.

<sup>56</sup> Road Docket, I, 205, 233; PCR, 495, 503.

<sup>57</sup> Road Docket, I, 28; Common Pleas Docket, 1729-1731, LCCH-PO. The use of the words "at Lancaster" for the early meetings may be a generalization for the county; these gatherings may well have occurred at Postlethwaite's, but in the absence of contrary evidence, it seems reasonable to conclude that these sessions were actually held in the new town.

<sup>58</sup> Common Pleas Docket, (1729-1770), p. 15.

<sup>59</sup> Lancaster County Commissioners' Book (1729-1770), n.p.

<sup>60</sup> PA, Ser. 1, I, 295; Lancaster County Commissioners' Book (1729-1770), pp. 41-42; Road Docket I, 242.

<sup>61</sup> County Commissioners' Book (1729-1770), pp. 39, 41; *The American Weekly Mercury*, January 13, 1736, p. 4. Shortly after the formation of the county, Robert Barber, sheriff, built a temporary jail at his house somewhere outside of the town. See early entries in the Lancaster County Commissioners' Book (1729-1770).

<sup>62</sup> Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, p. 208.

<sup>63</sup> Mombert, *Lancaster County*, pp. 125-26.

<sup>64</sup> PCR, III, 280-81; PA, Ser. 1, I, 547-48.

<sup>65</sup> Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1845), p. 394.

<sup>66</sup> Samuel Blunston to [Thomas Penn], October 30, 1737, Penn-Bailey Collection (A-W), 1HSP.

<sup>67</sup> John Taylor Folder, Penn-Bailey Collection (A-W), HSP.

<sup>68</sup> Edward Smout to Thomas Penn, August 16, 1737, *ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> In April, 1741, Mary Prator of Earl Township gave £2 to the "Popish church at Lancaster borough," and Thomas Doyle acknowledged receipt of the money "for the use of the Catholic church in the Borough of Lancaster, . . ." Sener, "The Catholic Church at Lancaster, Pa.," p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Charter of the Borough of Lancaster, May 1, 1742, *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1797), 1, 19-21 in the appendix; there is also a copy in Mombert, *Lancaster County*, Appendix, pp. 141-46.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

## Chapter One

<sup>1</sup> Quotations taken from the "Charter of the Borough of Lancaster," May, 1742, in Mombert, *Lancaster County*, Appendix, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> The "Corporation Book" for the Borough of Lancaster, 1742-1818, located in the Mayor's Office at Lancaster, provides not only the names of individuals elected to office each year, but also the ordinances of the town and useful information relating to markets, fairs, and other matters. There is, unfortunately, a gap in the records from the mid to late 1740's. In September, 1767, the town ordered the clerk to transcribe "the old records," which presumably included the old corporation minutes. The present 'Corporation Book' originated at that time apparently, and it would appear that the missing minutes were lost sometime before this.

<sup>4</sup> Mombert, *Lancaster County*, Appendix, pp. 143-44; Draft of the Deed of Incorporation for the Borough of Lancaster, 1742, p. 10. Miscellaneous MSS., APS.

<sup>5</sup> Mombert, *Lancaster County*, Appendix, pp. 143-45; Lancaster Corporation Book, October [n.d.], 1760.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Cookson to James Hamilton, February 10, 1743, Burd-Shippen Papers, I (1742-1759), APS. The computation was made from the Lancaster Corporation Book.

<sup>7</sup> Mombert, *Lancaster County*, Appendix, pp. 142–43.

<sup>8</sup> These are located in the Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster, Pa., and have been chosen to give a picture of the electorate for local elections over a wide span of time.

<sup>9</sup> Lancaster Borough Assessment List, 1759.

<sup>10</sup> Lancaster Borough Assessment List, 1772.

<sup>11</sup> Lancaster Borough Assessment List, 1788.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Cookson to Thomas Penn, October 4, 1749 (Copy), Lancaster County Miscellaneous Papers (1724–1772), p. 65, HSP.

<sup>13</sup> Jasper Yeates to Duncan Campbell, September 8, 1768 (Copy), Jasper Yeates Letterbook (1767–1769), LCHS; Yeates to Campbell, December 9, 1769 (Copy), Yeates Letterbook (1769–1771), HSP.

<sup>14</sup> This paragraph is based on information contained in the Lancaster Corporation Book, on the list of burgesses which appears in Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, p. 373, and on other sources of biographical information. The assumption made by Ellis and Evans—that in the years for which there are no corporation minutes the men elected in 1745 held their posts until 1749—is not contradicted by other evidence; I have followed them.

<sup>15</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XLVI (1942), 48–49.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52; Dietmar Rothermund, *The Layman's Progress: Religious and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1961), pp. 101, 182, 187.

<sup>17</sup> The King vs. Peter Worrall, 1752, Indictment Files (1745–1759), LCCH-PO.

<sup>18</sup> Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, p. 373; election results in the Lancaster Corporation Book, *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XLVI (1942), 47–48; Road Docket 1 (Original), 211, LCCH-PO.

<sup>20</sup> In 1749, when Germans were elected to the posts of burgesses for the first time in four years, members of the Lutheran congregation captured all of the major offices and three of the assistant positions. A member of the congregation reported this to the minister “with emotion and gladness of heart,” but the elation expressed would seem to have been related as much to the ethnic background of the election winners as to their religion. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, I (Allentown, 1886), 542.

<sup>21</sup> This analysis of the wealth of Lancaster's burgesses has been made on the basis of information contained in the assessment lists for the borough.

<sup>22</sup> These observations are based on an analysis of information contained in the list of town officers in Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, p. 373, and on occupational data contained in the Assessment lists in the LCHS.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*; LCHS *Journal*, XLVI (1942), 50.

<sup>24</sup> Same sources as in note 22.

<sup>25</sup> LCHS *Journal*, I (1896), 70–71; XXXI (1927), 9; *The Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 177–78; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 7, 1756, p. 3; *Philadelphische Zeitung*, November 18, 1757, p. 4; George Gray to Edward Hand, November 12, 1783, Emmet Collection, the New York Public Library.

<sup>26</sup> Edward Shippen, Jr., to Edward Shippen, September 14, 1756, Shippen Papers, 1 (Balch Papers), XLVIII, HSP.

<sup>27</sup> James Burd to Samuel Purviance, Jr., September 17, 1764 (Copy), Shippen Family Papers, VI (Correspondence 1763–1768), 109, HSP. The terms “new” and “old side” normally refer to the factional split within Presbyterianism brought about by the Great Awakening; the usage in this case may refer only to politics.

<sup>28</sup> William Atlee to James Burd, September 19, 1769, Shippen Family Papers, VII (Correspondence, 1769–1776), 19, *ibid.*; see also Jasper Yeates to James Burd, September 20, 1773, *ibid.*, p. 69 *et passim*.

<sup>29</sup> Mombert, *Lancaster County*, Appendix, p. 143.

<sup>30</sup> For the charters of the boroughs of Chester and Bristol, see *The Charters and Acts of the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, Peter Miller, 1762), pp. 14–16 (Chester) and 16–18 (Bristol). Lancaster's charter is reproduced on pp. 18–21 in the same volume.

<sup>31</sup> Lancaster Corporation Book, February 8, 1743.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, September 29, 1783.

<sup>33</sup> *PA*, Ser. 8, VIII, 6736–6737; Lancaster Corporation Book, February 18, 1772.

<sup>34</sup> Following the election of 1749, for example, a member of the Lutheran congregation informed the minister “how yesterday at the election of the new town magistrates, it was so quiet and orderly as never before since the existence of Lancaster.” The pastor rejoiced heartily that “nearly all of our Lutherans on my earnest entreaty and urging on the past Sunday, avoided all the otherwise usual disorders in this election, whilst formerly none were more complained of than our Lutherans.” *Hallesche Nachrichten*, I, 542. In October, 1773, Jasper Yeates wrote to Colonel James Burd that “Our elections being over, the Borough is returned to its former Quiet, & the Inhabitants have again resumed their Senses.” Yeates seems to have been referring here to both county and town elections. Quoted in Chilton Williamson, *American Suffrage, From Property to Democracy, 1768–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1960), p. 48.

<sup>35</sup> A handy discussion of the kinds of business transacted in the New England town meetings can be found in Michael Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1970), Appendix 1.

<sup>36</sup> *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, I (1797), 675–78; *PCR*, X, 148. The creation of the new elective posts of Supervisors of the Highways and Assessors introduced a new element of political contention in the borough, and appears as well to have enlivened subsequent town meetings. During two of the meetings in 1788, “some time” was devoted to resolving a disputed election for supervisors and assessors. The dissidents claimed that the election was not duly advertised, and that other illegalities were evident. Although the corporation voted not to set aside the election, a special convocation of the Court of Quarter Sessions nullified the results and ordered the town magistrates—in conjunction with several justices of the court—“to appoint such persons as they think proper” to fill the posts. Lancaster Corporation Book, March 17, 27, 1788.

<sup>37</sup> Lancaster Corporation Book, September 22, 1788.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, March 9, 1789.

## Chapter Two

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Richard Locke to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, October 16, 1746 (Copy), *PMHB*, XXIV (1900), 468; *Hallesche Nachrichten*, I (Allentown, 1886), 145. Leonard W. Labaree (ed.), *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven, 1961), IV, 347; Sir William Johnson to Capt. Frank Orme, September 23, 1755 (Copy), *PMHB*, II (1887), 96.

<sup>2</sup> The sources for this table are the *PMHB*, XXIV (1900), 468; the “Borough Returns” for Lancaster, 1756, 1759, 1770, and 1775, LCHS; the Septennial Censuses for 1779 and 1786, MSS. Group 7, Division of Public Records, PHMC; and the *First Census of the United States, Pennsylvania* (Washington, 1908), p. 10. In the *Charter, Laws . . . of the Juliana Library Company*, the estimate of five persons to a household is given, Preface, note at bottom of page x; but the census of 1790 suggests that there was an average of six persons in each household. I have used the latter figure to compute the estimated population, with heads of families as the multiplicand. Many travellers stopped for awhile in Lancaster on their tours of the inland region. Those who wrote about the town afterward most often inflated the size of the community—doubtless not alone because of impressionistic memories, but as well because of the understandably enthusiastic boasts of Lancastrians themselves. Elkanah Watson, who visited the borough in 1777, thought that it contained “about one thousand houses, and 6,000 inhabitants.” An even higher figure—equally erroneous—was given by Thomas Anburey, an officer in General Burgoyne’s defeated army, who was in the town in late 1778 and later stated that it contained “at least ten thousand inhabitants.” The crowded conditions and increased population of the town during the Revolutionary War doubtless accounts somewhat for Watson’s and Anburey’s exaggerations. J.F.D. Smyth, who stopped in Lancaster in 1784, also set the population at 10,000, though Samuel Vaughan placed the total number of inhabitants at 9,000 three years later. For travellers’ accounts of Lancaster, see *PMHB*, X (1886), 212, XXVIII (1904), 182–83; LCHS *Journal*, V (1901), 109; XXXII (1928), 150; LVIII (1954), 3, 15–16; LXI (1957), 7; Thomas Anburey, *Travels through the Interior Parts of America* (London, 1789), II, 301–305; J.F.D. Smyth, *A Tour of the United States of America* (London, 1784), pp. 278–79; Johann D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation* (Philadelphia,

1911), II, 10-11; Luigi Castiglione, *Viaggio negli Stati Uniti dell'America Settentrionale, fatto negli anni 1785, 1786, e 1787* (Milan, 1790, II, 42; *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777* (New York, 1924), p. 152; and William Parker Cutler and Julia Perkins Cutler (eds.), *The Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Menasseh Cutler, LL.D.* (Cincinnati, 1888), I, 429.

<sup>3</sup> The Reverend Thomas Barton to Sir William Johnson, July 8, 1771, Johnson Papers, LC; *The Charter Laws . . . &c. of the Juliana Library Company* (Philadelphia, 1766), Preface, xi, note. Lancaster was, indeed, the largest inland town in America at this time. For comparative town sizes, see Evarts B. Green and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932).

<sup>4</sup> The lot assignments in the Hamilton ground rent roll, LCHS, provide one measure of the town's rate of growth, but due to the apparent incompleteness of the roll, the "Borough Returns" and assessment lists are more useful for this purpose. That the town grew as much through generation as through immigration after the Revolution is suggested by the fact that of the 80 new lots given out between 1784 and 1790 more than half went to individuals bearing "old family" names in Lancaster.

<sup>5</sup> See the Map of the Borough of Lancaster indicating the lots by number, LCHS.

<sup>6</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XLVI (1942), 52; Deed, Adam Simon Kuhn *et ux.* to James Hamilton, March 7, 1750, Deedbook A, vol. 1, p. 205, LCCH-RO; James Hamilton to Edward Shippen, April 17, 1768, Society Collection, HSP.

<sup>7</sup> Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, April 19, 1760 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Shippen to Hamilton, December 20, 1762 (Copy), *ibid.*; Shippen to Hamilton, March 9, 1769 (Copy), *ibid.*; Hamilton to Shippen, April 11, 1768, Society Collection, HSP; William Hamilton to Jasper Yeates, May 26, July 14, August 30, 1784, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1781-1785), HSP.

<sup>8</sup> Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, August 28, 1753, Letters from Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, APS; Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, July 6, 1761 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Edward Shippen to the Rev. Richard Peters, January, 1754, Shippen Family Papers, I, 153, HSP; Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, February 11, 1760 (Copy), Shippen Papers, I (Balch Papers), 92, HSP; Edward Shippen to [James Hamilton], March 9, 1769 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Shippen to Hamilton, April 26, 1768 (Copy), *ibid.*; Thomas Cookson to Thomas Penn, June 5, 1752, Society Collection, HSP; William Hamilton to Jasper Yeates, May 26, July 14, 1784, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1781-1785), HSP. For the ground rents set on the various lots in the town, see the deeds in the LCCH-RO.

<sup>9</sup> Witham Marshe, "Journal of the Treaty held . . . at Lancaster, June, 1744," in William Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 3, 1, 277-78; *PMHB*, III (1879), 294; X (1886), 212; XLIV (1920), 222; LCHS *Journal*, V (1901), 109; XXXII (1928), 150; LVIII (1954), 3; LXI (1957), 7; Christopher Marshall to [?], September 20, 1777 (Copy), Christopher Marshall Letterbook, HSP.

<sup>10</sup> Jasper Yeates to John Yeates, October 16, 1764, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 2, Box 13, HSP; LCHS *Journal*, LVIII (1954), 3, 15-16; *PMHB*, X (1886), 212; XXVIII (1904), 182-83; *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell*, p. 152; Cutler and Cutler (eds.), *The Life . . . of Rev. Mennaseh Cutler*, I, 429.

<sup>11</sup> Marshe, "Journal," p. 278.

<sup>12</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 5, 1754, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, September 13, 1748, p. 4; July 18, 1751, p. 2; July 9, 1772, p. 3; *Die Lancastersche Zeitung*, June 5, 1753, p. 4; *The Pennsylvania Chronicle*, June 6-13, 1768, p. 160; Edward Shippen to Richard Peters, December 9, 1766, Capt. Richard Peters Papers, HSP.; Edward Shippen to George Craig, January 9, 1769 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; LCHS *Journal* (1928), 150; Anburey, *Travels through the Interior of North America*, II, 301-305; Cutler and Cutler (eds.), *The Life . . . of Rev. Menasseh Cutler*, I, 429.

<sup>14</sup> Marshe, "Journal," 277.

<sup>15</sup> William Hamilton to Jasper Yeates, July 14, 1784, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1781-1788), HSP; LCHS *Journal*, LXI (1957), 51; Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, p. 205; Cutler and Cutler (eds.), *The Life . . . of Rev. Menasseh Cutler*, I, 429.



<sup>16</sup> Schmaux, *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 324-28; Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein (eds.), *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia, 1942), II, 298-99; LCHS *Journal*, XXIV (1920), 102; Anburey, *Travels through the Interior of America*, II, 301-305.

<sup>17</sup> Lancaster Corporation Book, November 28, 1744; June 23, 1761; November 9, 1761; July 1, 1771.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, [October, 1760], June 18, 1768; September 12, 1768; Road Docket 3 (1760-1768), May sessions of 1765 and 1766, LCCH-PO.

<sup>19</sup> Lancaster County Commissioners' Book (1770-1778), pp. 4-6, LCCH-PO; Road Docket 4 (1768-1776), February Session, 1771, *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *PA*, Series 8, VIII, 6736-37; *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (1797), I, 675-78; *PCR*, X, 148.

<sup>21</sup> Lancaster Corporation Book, November 21, 1765.

<sup>22</sup> *PA*, Ser. 8, VII, 6324-25, 6402, 6440-41; *PCR*, IX, 621-22.

<sup>23</sup> Lancaster County Commissioners' Book (1729-1770), p. 115.

<sup>24</sup> Lancaster Corporation Book, November 28, 1774.

<sup>25</sup> *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (1797), I, 675-78; *PCR*, X, 148.

<sup>26</sup> *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (1797), I, 675-78.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 683-86.

<sup>28</sup> Marshe, "Journal," pp. 277-78.

<sup>29</sup> *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (1797), I, 683-86.

<sup>30</sup> *The Charter, Laws . . . of the Juliana Library Company* (1766). Preface, x-xi, note; James Burd to Edward Shippen, January 1, 1757, Shippen Family Papers, II, 89, HSP.

<sup>31</sup> Lancaster Corporation Book, May 30, 1743; October 24, 1743; February 16, 1745; October 31, 1750; January 29, 1751; May 30, 1752; November 30, 1752.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, January 29, 1751.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, October 24, 1743; February 1, 1746; November 21, 1765; December 14, 1784; Edward Shippen, Jr. to Edward Shippen, December 9, 1757, Shippen Papers (Edward, Joseph and Others, Box 1), HSP; *PA*, Ser. 8, VI, 5094-5095.

<sup>34</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 26, 1751, p. 2; August 22, 1751, p. 2; September 5, 1751, p. 2; *Die Pennsylvanische Berichte*, March 16, 1751, pp. 3-4; Lancaster Corporation Book, August 17, 1764; July, 1765; September 10, 1767; LCHS *Journal*, XVI (1912), 156; Alfred Sanderson, *Historical Sketch of the Union Fire Company, No. 1* (Lancaster, 1879), pp. 11, 18.

<sup>35</sup> Sanderson, *Union Fire Company*, pp. 9, 13, 14-15; LCHS *Journal*, XVI (1912), 154, 156, 158; XL (1936), 24-26; *The Charter, Laws . . . of the Juliana Library Company* (1766), Preface, x-xi, note.

<sup>36</sup> James Burd to Joseph Shippen, Jr., January 21, 1766, Shippen Family Papers, VI, 139, HSP; *PCR*, IX, 283, 285, 292, 296; Sanderson, *Union Fire Company*, p. 15; "Petition of the Burgesses Assistants and Other Inhabitants of Lancaster," Lancaster County Miscellaneous Papers (1729-1772), p. 157, HSP.

<sup>37</sup> Lancaster Corporation Book, September 14, 1772; Edward Shippen to Richard Penn, January 11, 1772 (Copy), Shippen Papers, II (Balch Papers), 13, HSP.

<sup>38</sup> Lancaster Corporation Book, September 14, 1772.

<sup>39</sup> *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (1797), I, 687-88.

<sup>40</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 12, 1740; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, December 28, 1779, HSP; John Hubley to John Dickinson, June 11, 1784 (Copy), in *PA*, Ser. 1, X, 278; Sanderson, *Union Fire Company*, p. 18.

<sup>41</sup> Articles of Agreement, Adam Simon Kuhn and Michael Gardner, August 22, 1766 (Copy), Society Collection, HSP; *PMHB*, LXXXI (1957), 85.

<sup>42</sup> *PA*, Ser. 8, VI, 5418-19, 5421-22.

<sup>43</sup> Lancaster Corporation Book, October 24, 1786.

<sup>44</sup> NAARS (Appearance File), 1745-1759, LCCH-PO; Dominus Rex vs. Susannah Dochterman *et al.*, August, 1763, Road Docket 3, Indictment File, (1760-1768); Road Docket 2 (1742-1860), p. 139; Dominus Rex vs. Francis Rhinehard and Catherine Rhinehard, May, 1757, Indictment File (1745-1759); Dominus Rex vs. George Ross, May, 1763,

Road Docket 3 (1760–1768), Indictment File, 1760–1768; *Dominus Rex vs. David Henderson*, November, 1759, Indictment File (1745–1759); *Dominus Rex vs. Ludwig Stone*, May, 1754, unlabelled file box (1745–1755), Road Docket 2 (1745–1760); *Dominus Rex vs. James Webb, Jr.*, January, 1770. All court files located in LCCH-QS, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>45</sup> *Dominus Rex vs. Henry Beckdorff*, February, 1761, Indictment File (1760–1768); Road Docket 3; Road Docket 2, p. 44, Indictment File (1745–1759); *Dominus Rex vs. Francis Ryne*, February, 1765 (Road Docket 3), Indictment File (1760–1768); *Dominus Rex vs. Frederick Hambright et al.*, August, 1772. All files in LCCH-QS.

<sup>46</sup> Petition of Anne Jacobs, February, 1754, unlabelled file box (1745–1755); Road Docket 2, 199; *Dominus Rex vs. Anne Jacobs*, February, 1754, Indictment File (1745–1759), LCCH-QS.

<sup>47</sup> *Dominus Rex vs. Valentine Stoplebine*, February, 1755, Indictment File (1745–1759); Road Docket 2, p. 223; *Dominus Rex vs. Ann Tew*, February, 1766, Road Docket 3, LCCH-QS.

<sup>48</sup> *Dominus Rex vs. Anne Jacobs*, February, 1754, Indictment File (1745–1759), LCCH-QS.

<sup>49</sup> *PA*, Ser. 8, VI, 5397–98, 5400, 5402, 5406; *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (1797), I, 435–36.

<sup>50</sup> *PA*, Ser. 8, VII, 5705; *PCR*, IX, 283.

<sup>51</sup> *PA*, Ser. 8, VII, 5772–73, 5774, 5778, 5796–97, 5816, 5819; *PCR*, IX, 285, 292.

<sup>52</sup> Petition of the Burgesses and other Inhabitants of Lancaster, 1765, Lancaster County Miscellaneous Papers (1724–1772), 157, HSP; *PMHB*, III (1879), 469.

<sup>53</sup> James Burd to Joseph Shippen, Jr., January 21, 1766, Shippen Family Papers, VI, 139, HSP.

<sup>54</sup> Petition of John Young and Anthony Snider, February, 1755, unlabelled file box (1756–1765), LCCH-PO.; Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, November 23, 1767 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS.

<sup>55</sup> James Burd, Constable Docket, 1764, Burd-Shippen Papers (Miscellaneous 1764–1791 and undated), APS; Petition of Lancaster Township, August 1765, unlabelled file box (1766–1770), LCCH-PO; Records of the First Reformed Church, 408–409, Reformed Church Archives, Lancaster, Pa.

<sup>56</sup> Richard Peters, Jr. to Jasper Yeates, February 14, 1766, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1762–1780), HSP.

### Chapter Three

<sup>1</sup> Governor George Thomas to Cacowatchico and Nuchicaw, August 16, 1742 (Copy), *PA*, Ser. 4, I, 796; Charles Thomson, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest* (Philadelphia, 1867), p. 51; Mombert, *Lancaster County*, Appendix, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Marshe, “Journal,” pp. 279–96; John F. Watson, *The Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania in the Older Times* (Philadelphia, 1891), II, 109.

<sup>3</sup> *PA*, Ser. 1, IX, 9, 11; Ser. 8, IV, 3193–94; *PCR*, V, 298–99; Nicholas Biddle Wainwright, *George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat* (Chapel Hill, 1959), pp. 19–20.

<sup>4</sup> *PCR*, II, 7–9; VII, 479, 480–81, 517–52; VIII, 457; *PA*, Ser. 1, III, 160–61, 194, 196–97; *Die Philadelphische Zeitung*, April 15, 1757, p. 3; April 22, 1757, p. 2; June 3, 1757, p. 3; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 21, 1757, p. 2; May 26, 1757, p. 3; Thomson, *An Enquiry*, p. 106; *PMHB*, LXXXI (1957), 182–83; Daniel Clark to James Burd, May 21, 1757, Shippen Family Papers, II, 183, HSP.

<sup>5</sup> *PCR*, VIII, 691–721–74; *PA*, Ser. 1, IV, 90–91, 98; X, 100–101; J. Max Hark, “The Old Moravian Chapel, Lancaster, Pa.,” Steinman Collection, Hardbound Folder, 4, LCHS; Lily L. Nixon, *James Burd, Frontier Defender* (Philadelphia, 1941), pp. 105–106.

<sup>6</sup> *PCR*, VI, 673; *PA*, Ser. 1, II, 444; Edward Shippen to William Shippen, November 29, 1755; Shippen Papers, IV, LC; Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, November 7, 1755, Letters from Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, APS; Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, December 1, 1755 (Copy), Shippen Papers, I (Balch Papers), 41, HSP; Shippen to Hamilton, December 5, 1755, *ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Edward Shippen to William Shippen, November 29, 1755, Shippen Papers, IV, LC.

<sup>8</sup> James Hamilton to Edward Shippen, November 24, 1755, Burd-Shippen Papers, I, APS; Shippen to Hamilton, December 1, 1755 (Copy), Shippen Papers, I (Balch Papers), 41, HSP; Shippen to Hamilton, December 5, 1755, *ibid.*, p. 42; Hamilton to Shippen, October 31, 1755, Burd-Shippen Papers, I, APS; Shippen to Hamilton, August 14, 1756 (Copy), in Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 4, II, 92; William A. Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758* (Harrisburg, 1960), p. 553; Edward Shippen to William Shippen, September 20, 1761, (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, July 25, 1763, Peters Papers, VI, 14, HSP.

<sup>9</sup> PCR, VII, 87, 93, 96; Edward Shippen to Governor John Penn, December 27, 1763 (Copy), PCR, IX, 100; John Hay to Gov. John Penn, December 27, 1763 (Copy), *ibid.*, p. 103; Gov. John Penn to Capt. William Murray, January 29, 1764 (Copy), *ibid.*, p. 128; Edward Shippen to James Burd, January 14, 1764, Shippen Family Papers, VI, 74, HSP. The controversy which still exists concerning the circumstances of the murder of the Conestoga Indians has been treated in John R. Dunbar (ed.), *The Paxton Papers* (The Hague, 1957).

<sup>10</sup> PA, Ser. 1, II, 608-609, 613, 617; III, 410; Edward Shippen to John Stanwix, September 19, 1757 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Shippen to Henry Bouquet, May 30, 1759 (Copy), *ibid.*; Shippen to John Sinclair, September 17, 1759 (Copy), *ibid.*; Shippen Family Papers, IV, 83, HSP; Lancaster County Commissioners' Book (1729-1770), June 13, 1757, p. 122; Alfred Procter James (ed.), *Writings of General John Forbes, Relating to His Service in North America* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1938), pp. 95-97; Horatio Gates to James Burd, May 22, 1760 (Copy), Egle, *Historical Register, Notes and Queries*, II (1884), 222; PCR, VIII, 71, 72.

<sup>11</sup> PA, Ser. 1, II, 276-77, 294-95, 400, 567, 576-77, 583, 598-99, 638-39, III, 389, 394; Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, May 12, 1758, Shippen Family Papers, III, 157, HSP; PCR, VII, 46-47; LCHS Journal, LXI (1957), 13; *Die Philadelphische Zeitung*, May 20, 1757, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> PCR, VI, 776; PA, Ser. 1, II, 447, 650-51 *et passim*; Ser. 4, II, 571-73; James, *Writings of General Forbes*, p. 278.

<sup>13</sup> PA, Ser. 1, III, 278, 316; Etting Collection, Provincial Council, p. 45, HSP; John Harris to James Burd, November 25, 1757, Shippen Family Papers, III, 95, HSP; Edward Shippen, Jr. to Edward Shippen, December 14, 1758, Shippen Papers, I (Balch Papers), 67, HSP.

<sup>14</sup> Etting Collection, Provincial Council, p. 45, HSP; John Armstrong to George Washington, June 6, 1758 (Copy), LCHS Journal, II (1897), 105; Edward Shippen, Jr. to Edward Shippen, August 24, 1758, Shippen Papers, I (Balch Papers), 62, HSP; PA, Ser. 8, VI, 4931, 4933-34, 4999; PCR, VIII, 285-86.

<sup>15</sup> PA, Ser. 8, VI, 4936, 4973, 4977-79; PCR, VIII, 430-31.

<sup>16</sup> PA, Ser. 8, VI, 4936, 4939, 4992, 5002-03, 5064, 5152-53; Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, December 26, 1759, Burd-Shippen Papers, I, APS; Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, February 11, 1760 (Copy), Shippen Papers, I (Balch Papers) 92, HSP; Hamilton to Shippen, January 3, 1758 (Copy), James Hamilton Letterbook (1749-1783), James Hamilton Papers, HSP (original in Society Collection, HSP); Watson, *Annals*, II, 110.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph Shippen, Jr., to James Burd, June 14, 1763, Shippen Family Papers, VI, 23, HSP; J. Schlosser to Henry Bouquet, March 16, 1765 (Copy), MSS. Box D, Folder 9, LCHS; Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, December 26, 1765, Letters of Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, APS; PA, Ser. 8, VII, 5900; Hazard's Register, IV (1829-30), 390.

<sup>18</sup> Charles Lee, "A Plan for the Formation of an American Army . . .," The Lee Papers, II, *Collections of the New-York Historical Society*, V (1873), 388-89.

<sup>19</sup> PCR, X, 672; XI, 64, 115, 271, 423; "State of the Magazine, 15 March 1776," Lancaster County Miscellaneous Papers (1772-1816), p. 23, HSP; George Washington to Carpenter Wharton, December 21, 1776 (Copy), John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *George Washington's Writings* (Washington, 1931-1944), VI, 416-17; Washington to the President of the Continental Congress, August 22, 1777 (Copy), *ibid.*, IX, 119; PA, Ser. 1, V, 210-11, 295; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 4, II, 93; Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, June 2, 1777 (Copy), Burd-Shippen Papers, II, APS.; Christopher Marshall to Benjamin Marshall and Brothers, August 7, 1777 (Copy), Christopher Marshall's Letterbook, HSP.



<sup>20</sup> George Washington to the Board of War, October 7, 1777 (Copy), Fitzpatrick, *Washington's Writings*, IX, 324–25; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, October 23, 1777, December 10, 28, 1777, HSP; William Atlee to Joseph Reed, August 6, 1781, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 2, Box 11, HSP; LCHS *Journal*, LII (1948), 74, 94.

<sup>21</sup> LCHS *Journal*, VIII (1904), 159–60; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 4, II, 285–86; PCR, XII, 648; PA, Ser. 1, V, 140, 376. Additional references to the prisoners who arrived from time to time may be found in LCHS *Journal*, XXVII (1923), 92; PA, Ser. 1, V, 61; Anburey, *Travels through the Interior of America*, II, 507–508; Francis Jordan, *The Life of William Henry* (Lancaster, 1910), p. 139; Sarah Yeates to Jasper Yeates, July 15, 1776, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1762–1780), HSP; Edward Shippen to Jasper Yeates, January 7, 1777, Shippen Papers, VIII, 61, HSP. Sometimes, prisoners were lodged only for a while in the borough while being marched elsewhere. See Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, December 19, 20, 21, 1778.

<sup>22</sup> J. Franklin Reigart, *The Life of Robert Fulton* (Philadelphia, 1856), p. 38; LCHS *Journal*, XLII (1938), 52.

<sup>23</sup> “The Committee of Lancaster County to [the Continental Congress,]” December 21, 1775 (Copy), Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1762–1789), HSP; Jasper Yeates to James Wilson, July 26, 1777, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 2, Box 13, HSP; Yeates to Edward Shippen, Jr., June 25, 1781 (Copy), Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1781–1788), HSP; Shippen Jr. to Yeates, July 4, 1781, *ibid.*; James Wood to Jasper Yeates, July 13, 1781, *ibid.*; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, August 26, 27, 1777; January 22, 1778; Jordan, *William Henry*, p. 154–55; Jasper Yeates to Col. Wilson, January 20, 1776, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 2, Box 13, HSP; William Atlee to Elias Boudinot, March 11, 1778, *ibid.*, Case 8, Box 2; PCR, X, 636; XI, 85; Richard Peters to William Atlee, October 4, 1777, Atlee Papers, LC; Edward Burd to James Burd, May 26, 1777, Shippen Family Papers, VIII, 11, HSP; William Henry to Samuel Hodgden, June 2, 1783 (Copy), Henry MSS., I, 167, HSP; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 4, II, 287.

<sup>24</sup> LCHS *Journal*, VIII (1904), 153–57; LVII (1954), 4, 14–16.

<sup>25</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XXVII (1923), 96; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, July 11, 13, 1777; Christopher Marshall to Benjamin Marshall and Brothers, July 18, 1777 (Copy), Christopher Marshall Letterbook, HSP; PMHB LXXXII (1958), 470.

<sup>26</sup> Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, September 29, October 13, November 5, 21, 1777, June 19, July 18, 22, 1778; LCHS *Journal*, I (1896), 70; XXXI (1927), 34; PCR, XI, 313–22, 325–53, 354–529; Mombert, *Lancaster County*, 265; Edward Shippen to James Burd, June 30, 1778, Shippen Family Papers, VIII, 33, HSP. Even before it removed to Lancaster, the State government had forwarded all public papers to the borough.

<sup>27</sup> Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, January 29, February 6, April 17, July 24, August 7, 1778; February 26, 1779; January 13, 1780 *et passim*; Jasper Yeates to James Burd, October 3, 1777, Shippen Family Papers, VIII, 19, HSP.; Lancaster County Miscellaneous Papers (1772–1916), p. 81, HSP; Abraham DeHuff Papers, *ibid.*; Frederick Yeiser to Gen. Richard Hampton, April 9, 1784, Society Collection, HSP; Lancaster Corporation Book, July 13, November 2, 1782; LCHS *Journal*, LVIII (1954), 1–6 *passim*.

<sup>28</sup> Henry Haller to Robert L Hooper, August 26, 1777 (Copy), Edward Hand Papers, I, 20, HSP; Edward Shippen to James Burd, August 29, 1777, Shippen Family Papers, VIII, 15, HSP; Christopher Marshall Remembrancer, August 24, 25, 29, September 12, 1777, August 9, September 22, 1781; Christopher Marshall to his children, August 25, 1777 (Copy), Christopher Marshall Letterbook, HSP; Levy Andrew Levy to Patrick Rice, September 12, 1777, Henry MSS., II, 25, HSP; Edward Shippen to Richard Cary, July 20, 1778 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbook, APS; PMHB, V (1881), 260, 263–64; PCR, XI, 236; PA, Ser. 1, V, 376; LCHS *Journal*, XXVII (1923), 92.

<sup>29</sup> Edward Burd to Jasper Yeates, September 8, 1777, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1762–1780), HSP; PA, Ser. 1, V, 634–35; PMHB, XLIV (1920), 324.

<sup>30</sup> Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, February 19, 1777 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letters to Joseph Shippen, APS; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, December 27, 1777; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 4, II, 286; see also Christopher Marshall to Benjamin Marshall *et al.*, July 18, 1777 (Copy), Christopher Marshall Letterbook, HSP; PA, Ser. 1, V, 427.



<sup>31</sup> The Committee for Lancaster County to John Hancock and Michael Connelly, January 3, 1776 (Copy), Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1762-1780), HSP; PCR, XI, 78; Edward Shippen to Jasper Yeates, January 7, 1777, Shippen Papers, II (Balch Papers), 34, HSP; PA, Ser. 1, V, 469.

<sup>32</sup> Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, October 2, 1777; LCHS *Journal*, XXVII (1923), 93; LVIII (1954), 11; PA, Ser. 1, VI, 193; VIII, 755; Adam Hubley to Joseph Reed, April 6, 1781, Society Collection, HSP; Mombert, *Lancaster County*, p. 287.

<sup>33</sup> Ellis and Evans, *Lancaster County*, pp. 65-66; William Atlee to the Continental Board of War, August 27, 1780, Atlee Papers, LC.; Lancaster Corporation Book, July 13, November 2, 1782.

<sup>34</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XXVII (1923), 96; The Late Members of the Committee for Lancaster Borough to the Pennsylvania Delegates in Continental Congress, June 3, 1775 (Rough Draft), Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1762-1780), HSP.

<sup>35</sup> LCHS *Journal*, LVIII (1954), 5; Mombert, *Lancaster County*, p. 288.

<sup>36</sup> Lancaster Corporation Book, July 13, 1782; Mombert, *Lancaster County*, pp. 291-92. A draft of the petition appears in the Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1781-1788), HSP.

<sup>37</sup> Professor Richard Wade has demonstrated the importance of such transmontane urban communities as Pittsburgh, Pa., Louisville and Lexington, Ky., and Cincinnati, Ohio, in the westward expansion of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. See *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).

## Chapter Four

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Hazard, *The Register of Pennsylvania*, VI, 29; Thomas Barton to the S.P.G., November 16, 1764 (Copy), in Egle, *Notes and Queries*, XV, ii, 188; Peter Anspach to John Mitchell, May 8, 1774, John Mitchell Papers (Correspondence, 1774), PHMC.

<sup>2</sup> Jasper Yeates to John Yeates, October 16, 1764, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 2, Box 13, HSP. James Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country* (Baltimore, 1972), pp. 2, 223 *et passim*.

<sup>3</sup> "Survey of Lancaster and Lands Contiguous," November 8, 1753, LCHS; Nicholas Scull, "A Map of the Province of Pennsylvania," Philadelphia, 1759; J. Bennet Nolan, *The Foundation of the Town of Reading in Pennsylvania* (Reading, Pa., 1929), pp. 179-80; Road Docket 2 (1742-1760), LCCH-PO; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (New York, 1963), pp. 129-30; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 19, 1759, p. 3; March 13, 1760, p. 3; December 4, 1760, p. 1; Sarah Burd to James Burd, June 20, 1760, Shippen Papers, II, 21, HSP; *Die Lancastersche Zeitung*, June 16, 1752, p. 4; Jasper Yeates to Joseph Swift, December 23, 1767 (Copy), Yeates Letterbook (1767-1769) LCHS; Labaree, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, VII, 144.

<sup>4</sup> James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, November 29, 1751, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, V, 193, HSP.

<sup>5</sup> Lancaster Corporation Book, August 13, 1742, August 31, 1752.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, September 13, 1742, November 23, 1787.

<sup>7</sup> Marshe, "Journal," p. 279; *Die Pennsylvanische Berichte*, April 1, 1743 *et seq.*; Lancaster Corporation Book, February 8, 1743, February 1, 1746, October 15, 1757, July n.d., 1765; n.d. 1768.

<sup>8</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 13, 1742, p. 3; October 17, 1745, p. 3; *The American Weekly Mercury*, May 1, 1742, p. 3; Lancaster Corporation Book, September 13, 1742, June 23, 1761; Edward Burd to Edward Shippen, August 17, 1769, Burd-Shippen Papers, General Correspondence, Folder 5, PHMC. During the War for Independence no fairs were held, but they were resumed—on a smaller scale than previously—in the 1780's.

<sup>9</sup> Lancaster Borough Returns, 1759, 1770, 1789, LCHS. Traders constituted 9 per cent of the heads of families whose occupations are known in 1759 and 3 per cent of this group thirty years later.

<sup>10</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 9, 1746 *et seq.*; June 11, 1747, p. 3; LCHS *Journal*, III (1899), 167; Jacob R. Marcus, *Early American Jewry* (Philadelphia, 1957), II, 29-30; Edwin Wolf, II and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1957), p. 388.

<sup>11</sup> Inventory of Estate, Christian Linsdorff, 1765, Inventory File, 1765, LCTO.

<sup>12</sup> William McCord, Day Book (1763–1767), *passim*, PHMC; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 11, 1762, p. 4 *et seq.*; Paul Zantzinger, Ledger (1773–1781), *passim*, PHMC; Simon and Henry to John Henry, January 24, 1765, Henry MSS., II, 9, HSP; Simon and Henry to Capt. John Stewart, 1767–1768, *ibid.*, p. 10; [Edward Shippen] to James Burd, February 7, 1760, Burd-Shippen Papers, II, APS; Shippen to Burd, May 28, 1767 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Nixon, *James Burd*, pp. 127–28; Elizabeth Furnace Journal (1769–1771), pp. 71, 94, HSP; Wharton MSS., HSP; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 17, 1768, p. 3; April 28, 1773, *et seq.*; Edward Shippen to George Craig, March 7, 1776 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, HSP; *The Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 4–11, 1768; July 16–23, 1770, p. 106 *et seq.*

<sup>13</sup> LCHS *Journal*, III (1899), 167; William Vincent Byars, *B. and M. Gratz, Merchants in Philadelphia, 1754–1798* (Jefferson City, Mo., 1916), pp. 30, 31, 33; Receipt, Joseph Simon to William Henry, December 14, 1759, Henry MSS., I, 1, HSP; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 11, 1762, p. 4; NAARS (Appearance File), 1760–1762, LCCH-PO.

<sup>14</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 11, 1760, p. 3 *et seq.*; September 25, 1760, p. 4; January 22, 1761, p. 3; May 19, 1763, p. 3; April 28, 1773, pp. 1, 5 and 6 *et seq.*; February 2, 1774, p. 3 *et seq.*; NAARS (Appearance File), 1763, LCCH-PO; James and Drinker to Neate and Pigon, December 24, 1761 (Copy), James and Drinker Letterbook (1759–1762), p. 319, HSP; Michael Gratz to Bernard Gratz, June 2, 1773, McAllister MSS., No. 5, LCP; Charles Hamilton to John Mitchell, January 2, 1774, sequestered John Mitchell Papers (Correspondence, January, 1774), PHMC. Other mercantile partnerships known to have existed include Eberhart Michael and John Meyser and Dr. John Godfrey Enar and Michael Graff, apothecary. See *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 11, 1763, p. 3, and December 15, 1768, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 7, 1749, p. 3 *et seq.*; Inventory of Estate, Matthias Jung, 1749, Inventory File, 1749, LCTO; Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, August 21, 1770 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Jasper Yeates to Duncan Campbell, February 4, 1770 (Copy), Yeates Letterbook, HSP; *The Pennsylvania Chronicle*, March 5, 1770, p. 28.

<sup>16</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XLVII (1943), 113–18; *PMHB*, I (1887), p. 70; James L. Heiges, *Baron William Stiegel and His Associates* (Lancaster, 1948), p. 140; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 5, 1773, p. 1 *et seq.*; February 2, 1774, p. 3 *et seq.*; Lancaster Borough Assessment List, 1771, LCHS; Charles Hamilton to John Mitchell, June 5, 1774, John Mitchell Papers (Correspondence, June, 1774), PHMC; Hamilton to Mitchell, December 9, 1774, *ibid.* (Correspondence, December 1–14, 1774).

<sup>17</sup> William McCord, Day Book (1763–1767), p. 6 and also March 24, 1767 *et passim*, PHMC; NAARS (Appearance File), 1760–1762, LCCH-PO; Elizabeth Furnace Ledger, 1767–1768, pp. 72–73, 94 *et passim*, HSP; Elizabeth Furnace Journal, 1769–1771, pp. 71, 94, HSP; Hopewell Forge Ledger, April 7 to December 20, 1769 and (1769–1770) pp. 21–22, HSP; William McCord, Ledger (1761–1766), March to September, 1765, PHMC; William Smith to John Shaw, December 11, 1762, Burd-Shippen Papers (Letters, 1740–1792), APS.

<sup>18</sup> William McCord, Day Book, November 11, 1766, PHMC; James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, March 12, 1749 (Copy), Hamilton Letterbook (1749–1783), James Hamilton Papers, HSP.

<sup>19</sup> *Die Pennsylvanische Berichte*, April 16, 1750, p. 3; December 16, 1750, p. 3 *et seq.*; September 27, 1762, pp. 3–4, *et seq.*; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 27, 1762, p. 3; January 10, 1765; Charles Hamilton to John Mitchell, October 20, 1774, John Mitchell Papers (Correspondence, October, 1774), PHMC.

<sup>20</sup> James Bickham to Thomas Wharton, July 22, 1753, November 22, 25, 1754, Wharton MSS., HSP; Michael Gross to Thomas Wharton, December 16, 1754, *ibid.*; Mary Dougherty to John Reynell, March 20, 1757, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 15, Box 25, *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Joseph Simon to Barnard Gratz, August 17, 1762, McAllister MSS., No. 3, LCP; Michael Gross to Thomas Wharton, May 22, 1753, Wharton MSS., HSP.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Wharton to Michael Gross, September 26, 1754 (Copy), Thomas Wharton Letterbook (1752–1759), HSP; Wharton to Ludwig Lauman, April 10, 1754 (Copy), *ibid.*; Daniel Wister to John Cameron, August 12, 1761, Burd-Shippen Papers (Letters,

1740-1792), APS; James Bickham to Thomas Wharton, October 28, 1754, Wharton MSS., HSP.

<sup>23</sup> James Bickham to Thomas Wharton, n.d. but probably 1753, Wharton MSS., HSP; Bickham to Wharton, September 23, October 10, December 30, 1754, *ibid.*; Joseph Pugh to John Reynell, February 28, 1758, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 15, Box 27, HSP; Charles Hamilton to John Mitchell, August 25, 1774; John Mitchell Papers (Correspondence, August, 1774), PHMC; Hamilton to Mitchell, July 18, 1774, *ibid.* (July, 1774).

<sup>24</sup> James Bickham to Thomas Wharton, November 18, 1754, Wharton MSS., HSP; Wharton to Bickham, July 18, 1754 (Copy), Thomas Wharton Letterbook, *ibid.*; Charles Hamilton to John Mitchell, February 11, 1774, John Mitchell Papers (Correspondence, February, 1774), PHMC; Hamilton to Mitchell, September 23, 1774, *ibid.* (September, 1774); Hamilton to Mitchell, June 20, 1774, *ibid.* (June, 1774).

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Wharton to John Hopson, April 19, 1758 (Copy), Thomas Wharton Letterbook (1752-1759), HSP.

<sup>26</sup> Charles Hamilton to John Mitchell, May 8, 9, 19, 1774, John Mitchell Papers (Correspondence, May, 1774), PHMC; Hamilton to Mitchell, June 12, 1774, *ibid.* (June, 1774); Hamilton to Mitchell, December 9, 1774, *ibid.* (December 1-14, 1774); Hamilton to Mitchell, November 3, 1774, *ibid.* (November, 1774); David Franks to Joseph Simon, July 28, 1783, Henry MSS., I, 171, HSP.

<sup>27</sup> Jasper Yeates to William Mitchell, January 1, 1769 (Copy), Yeates Letterbook (1767-1769), LCHS.

<sup>28</sup> Levy Andrew Levy to Michael Gratz, April 4, 1768, McAllister MSS., No. 4, LCP; William McCord, Cash Book (1763-1767), May 30, 1767, *et passim*, PHMC; Joseph Swift to Jasper Yeates, May 15, 1769, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 16, Box 11, HSP; Thomas Wharton to James Bickham, December 7, 1756 (Copy), Thomas Wharton Letterbook (1752-1759), HSP.

<sup>29</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 28, 1773, pp. 1, 5 *et seq.*; Hamilton and Moore to John Mitchell, December 30, 1771, John Mitchell Papers (Correspondence, 1771), PHMC; Charles Hamilton to John Mitchell, September 22, 1774, *ibid.* (September, 1774); Hamilton to Mitchell, November 22, 1774, *ibid.* (November, 1774).

<sup>30</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 10, 1861, p. 4; William Douglass, *A Summary of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements and Present State of the British Settlements in North America* (Boston, 1750), II, 333.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Wharton to James Bickham, December 7, 1756 (Copy), Thomas Wharton Letterbook (1752-1759), HSP; Bickham to Wharton, October 15, 28, November 13, December 17, 1754, Wharton MSS., HSP; Jasper Yeates to John Yeates, October 16, 1764, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 2, Box 13, HSP; Edward Shippen to Jonathan Evans, July 24, 1754 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Joseph Simon to Michael Gratz, April 4, 1768, McAllister MSS., No. 3, LCP.

<sup>32</sup> William McCord, Cash Book, 1765, and Ledger (1761-1766), April, 1765, February, 1766, PHMC.

<sup>33</sup> James Bickham to Thomas Wharton, July 31, 1753, Wharton MSS., HSP; James and Drinker to Christian Wertz, December 13, 1769 (Copy), James and Drinker Letterbook (1769-1772), p. 111, HSP; James and Drinker to Robert Fulton, October 26, 1763 (Copy), *ibid.* (1762-1764), p. 184; Stauffer Collection, XVII, 1214, HSP; Thomas Wharton to James Bickham, December 1, 1752 (Copy), Thomas Wharton Letterbook (1752-1759), HSP.

<sup>34</sup> Harry D. Berg, "The Organization of Business in Colonial Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania History*, X (1943); Jasper Yeates, Memorandum Book (1764-1769), p. 50, HSP; James and Drinker to Neate and Pigon, February 16, 26, April 10, 1762 (Copies), James and Drinker Letterbook (1759-1762), pp. 345, 373, 459, HSP.

## Chapter Five

<sup>1</sup> Albert T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement* (Cleveland, 1926), pp. 20-22.

<sup>2</sup> Marshe, "Journal," p. 287; Douglass, *A Summary*, II, 313; Volwiler, *George Croghan*, pp. 28-29.



<sup>3</sup> Samuel Smith to Edward Shippen, August 10, 1774, Shippen Papers, Miscellaneous Correspondence, VII (1706-1844), LC.

<sup>4</sup> *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XXIII (1915), 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> Byars, B. and M. Gratz, p. 47; Sewell Elias Slick, *William Trent and The West* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1947), p. 88; Volwiler, *George Croghan*, p. 151.

<sup>6</sup> Bond, Robert Callender and Michael Taiff to Joseph Simon, September 8, 1753, Society Miscellaneous Collection, Box 6a (Bonds and Obligations), HSP.

<sup>7</sup> John Miller, Day Book A, pp. 19, 21, 42; Day Book (1761-1763), pp. 26, 28; Ledger B, pp. 137, 146. Records in the possession of Mr. J. Robert Moore, Lancaster, Pa.

<sup>8</sup> *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XXVI (1918), 236.

<sup>9</sup> Receipt, Shippen and Lawrence to Alexander Lowrey, August 11, 1753, MSS. Box 1, LCHS; Edward Shippen to Hugh Crawford, October 30, 1753 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Shippen to Edward Shippen, Jr., February 27, 1760 (Copy) *ibid.*; Shippen to James Burd, July 10, 1754, Shippen Papers, II (Family Letters), p. 5, HSP; Shippen to Governor Robert Morris, July, 1755 (Copy), PA, Ser. 1, II, p. 364; Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York, 1911), I, 5.

<sup>10</sup> *PMHB*, IV (1880), 90-91; Byars, B. and M. Gratz, pp. 31-32; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, 178; II, 7; Volwiler, *George Croghan*, pp. 39, 190; *The King vs. John E. Swain*, November, 1745, Indictment File (1745-1759), Road Docket 1 (Original), p. 176, NAARS (Appearance File), 1751, LCCH-PO; Lancaster Borough Return, 1759, LCHS.

<sup>11</sup> Invoice, Simon, Levy and Company to George Croghan, March 23, 1765, McAllister MSS., No. 2, HSP.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Simon to Ephraim Blaine, November 27, 1769 (Copy), in Byars, B. and M. Gratz, p. 107.

<sup>13</sup> Joseph Simon to Barnard Gratz, August 29, 1762, McAllister MSS., No. 3, HSP; Nicholas B. Wainwright, *George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat* (Chapel Hill, 1959), pp. 102-103; Thomas Barton to Sir William Johnson, December 2, 1767 (Copy), in Byars, B. and M. Gratz, p. 81; Barnard Gratz to Joseph Simon, April 3, 1760, McAllister MSS., No. 1, HSP.

<sup>14</sup> Volwiler, *George Croghan*, pp. 30, 31, 40; Bond, Daniel Lowrey to Shippen and Lawrence, August 1, 1753, MSS. Box 1, LCHS; Bond, William Trent to Simon and Franks, January 4, 1769, Henry MSS., II, 12, HSP.

<sup>15</sup> Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 265, 355-56; Patrick Allison to Baynton and Wharton, July 24, 1767, Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers (Correspondence of Baynton and Wharton), PHMC; George Gibson to [Edward Shippen], September 28, 1748, Shippen Family Papers, I, 79, HSP; Joseph Simon to Barnard Gratz, August 17, 29, 1762, May 30, 1763, McAllister MSS., HSP.

<sup>16</sup> Receipt, Shippen and Lawrence to Alexander Lowrey, August 11, 1753, MSS. Box 1, LCHS; Edward Shippen to James Burd, July 10, 1754, Shippen Papers, II, 5, HSP.

<sup>17</sup> Edward Shippen to Gov. Robert Morris, August 7, 1755 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS.

<sup>18</sup> Patrick Allison to Baynton and Wharton, August 20, 1761, Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers (Correspondence of Baynton and Wharton), PHMC; NAARS (Appearance File), 1763, LCCH-PO.

<sup>19</sup> Volwiler, *George Croghan*, pp. 265, 266-67; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 61, 382; *PMHB*, LXXVII (1953), 159; Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, II, 37; "The Memorial of the Merchants of the Province of Pennsylvania concerned in the late Trade with the Indians" to Gov. Robert Monckton, December 12, 1763, Papers Relating to Pennsylvania, MSS. Volume II (1756-1799), New York Public Library.

<sup>20</sup> Levy Andrew Levy to Ephraim Blaine, December 25, 1770 (Copy), in Byars, B. and M. Gratz, p. 114; *PMHB*, LVIII (1934), 121; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 28, 1773, p. 1 *et seq.*; *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XXVI (1918), p. 236; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 75; Account, Neave, Harmon and Lewis with Simon and Gratz, 1773-1774, McAllister MSS., No. 3, HSP; Account, Barnard and Michael Gratz with Joseph Simon, 1777, 1788, McAllister MSS., No. 9, *ibid.*; Invoice, Barnard Gratz to Simon and Campbell, May 5, 1775 (Copy), Society Miscellaneous Collection, 11-C (Indians), HSP;



Robert Campbell to Barnard Gratz, July 6, 1775, Gratz-Croghan Papers, Etting Collection, HSP.

<sup>21</sup> Levy Andrew Levy to Michael Gratz, October 17, 1781, McAllister MSS., No. 4, HSP.

<sup>22</sup> Levy Andrew Levy to Michael Gratz, October 1, 1781, *ibid.*; Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania*, p. 397.

<sup>23</sup> Receipt, Simon and Levy to Barnard and Michael Gratz, February 21, 1776, McAllister MSS., No. 3, HSP.

<sup>24</sup> Volwiler, *George Croghan*, p. 291; *LCHS Journal*, III (1899), 171; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 2, II (458-59); Thomas Wharton to Joseph Simon and Levy Andrew Levy, April 26, 1776 (Copy), Thomas Wharton Letterbook (1773-1784), p. 210, HSP; *PMHB*, XIV (1890), 445-46.

## Chapter Six

<sup>1</sup> *The Charter, Laws . . . &c. of the Juliana Library Company* (1766), Preface, pp. x-xi (in the footnote). The percentage of artisans among Lancaster's male heads of families has been computed from the borough assessment lists for 1759 and 1788, LCHS.

<sup>2</sup> Reigart, *The Life of Robert Fulton*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Lancaster Corporation Book, February 8, October 24, 1743, September 9, 1755, October 15, 1757, November 21, 1765, September 17, 29, October 24, 1770, September 19, 1782, September 28, 1784, September 25, October 24, 1786.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, September 28, October 9, 1744, October 3, 1771, January 3, 1772.

<sup>5</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 9, 1747, p. 3 *et seq.*; May 26, 1763; *PMHB*, XLVI (1922), 263; Lancaster Borough Return, 1759 and 1788, LCHS.

<sup>6</sup> This chart is based on the Lancaster Borough Returns for 1759, 1770 and 1788, LCHS.

<sup>7</sup> "Survey of Lancaster Borough and Lands Contiguous," November 8, 1753, LCHS; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 3, 1750, p. 2 *et seq.*; *LCHS Journal*, L (1946), 87; Lancaster Borough Returns, 1759, 1770, 1788; Records of the First Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa., p. 505, Reform Church Archives, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.; Lancaster County Commissioners' Book (1729-1770), pp. 69, 74, LCCH-PO.

<sup>8</sup> Lancaster Borough Returns, 1759, 1770, LCHS; Lancaster Borough Assessment List, 1782, *ibid.*; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 5, 1754, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Lancaster Borough Returns, 1759, 1770, 1788, LCHS; Christian Wertz to Baynton and Morgan, August 20, 31, 1762, Sequestered Baynton, Wharton and Morgan Papers (1725-1827), MSS. Group 19 (Correspondence of Baynton and Wharton), PHMC; *The Pennsylvania Chronicle*, June 11-18, 1770, p. 84; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 14, 1770, pp. 2-3.

<sup>10</sup> Lancaster Borough Returns, 1759 and 1788, LCHS; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 22, 1747, p. 4 *et seq.*; *Die Pennsylvanische Berichte*, March 1, 1751, p. 4; *Der Wochentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, November 15, 1762, p. 2 *et seq.*

<sup>11</sup> Lancaster Borough Returns, 1759 and 1788, LCHS.

<sup>12</sup> *LCHS Journal*, XXXV (1931), 301-13; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 28, 1754, p. 4; September 8, 1763, p. 4; August 18, 1768, p. 3 *et seq.*; June 22, 1769, p. 1; *Der Wochentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, July 26, 1762, p. 2 *et seq.*; Invoice, Francis Sander-son to William McCord, February 12, 1767, Steinman Collection, Box 3, Folder 52, LCHS; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 4, II, 45.

<sup>13</sup> Lancaster Borough Returns, 1759, 1770, 1788, LCHS; Edward Shippen to William Peters, January 24, 1763 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; *LCHS Journal*, XLVIII (1944), 52; Invoice, Simon and Henry to John Henry, January 24, 1765, Henry MSS., II, 9, 16, HSP; Thomas Barton to Thomas Penn, November 30, 1760, Penn MSS., Official Correspondence, IX, 150, HSP; Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, November 26, 1759, Burd-Shippen Papers, I, APS; Carl Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman* (New York, 1950), pp. 117-18; John Henry, "Journal to Niagra and Detroit," 1773, Henry MSS., II, 16, HSP.

<sup>14</sup> James Hamilton to Edward Shippen, June 9, 1757, Society Collection, HSP; *The Pennsylvania Chronicle*, February 22-29, 1768, Postscript.

<sup>15</sup> Lancaster Borough Returns, 1759 and 1788, LCHS; Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, July 19, 1762, Letters from Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, APS; *The Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 4–11, 1768.

<sup>16</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 14, 1761, p. 4; July 7, 1768, p. 4; *The Pennsylvania Chronicle*, June 6–13, 1768, p. 160; LCHS *Journal*, XLVIII (1944), 51; John Miller, Ledger B, pp. 147, 148, 150–51; Joseph Simon to Barnard Gratz, January 11, 1761, McAllister MSS., No. 6, HSP.

<sup>17</sup> Lancaster Borough Returns, 1759 and 1788, LCHS; NAARS (Appearance Files), 1750, LCCH-PO; LCHS *Journal*, XLIX (1945), p. 1–4; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 4, 1765, p. 1; September 24, 1767, p. 3; December 31, 1767, p. 4; November 11, 1772, p. 4; Thomas Barton to Sir William Johnson, July 22, December 2, 1767, Johnson Papers, LC; Joseph Simon to Barnard Gratz, March 25, 1761, McAllister MSS., No. 3, HSP; Burial Records, Trinity Lutheran Church, p. 9, LCHS; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 3, II, 354.

<sup>18</sup> Lancaster Borough Returns, 1759, 1772, 1788, LCHS.

<sup>19</sup> Carlton O. Wittlinger, "Early Manufacturing in Lancaster County," LCHS *Journal*, LXI (1957), 93, 113–14; LXII (1958), 19.

## Chapter Seven

<sup>1</sup> *PA*, Ser. 8, IV, 3554–3557.

<sup>2</sup> James Bickham to Thomas Wharton, July 9, 1754, Wharton MSS., HSP.

<sup>3</sup> Sarah Burd to James Burd, March 3, 1764, Shippen Family Papers, II, 62, HSP; Edward Shippen to James Burd, January 7, 1764, *ibid.*, VI, 75; Jasper Yeates to Joseph Rose, March 28, 1768 (Copy), Yeates Letterbook, LCHS; Hazard's *Register*, 8 (July, 1831–January, 1832), pp. 124–25; Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, September 13, 1768 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; *PA*, Ser. 8, VII, 6300.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Shippen to William Logan, August 14, 1760 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS.

<sup>5</sup> Edward Shippen, Jr. to Edward Shippen, November 26, 1759, Shippen Papers, 1 (Balch Papers), 74, HSP; Joseph Simon to Barnard Gratz, May 30, 1763, McAllister MSS., No. 3, HSP.

<sup>6</sup> Heiges, *Stiegel and His Associates*, pp. 48–49.

<sup>7</sup> Partnership Agreement, Charles and Alexander Stedman, Henry Stiegel, and John Barr, May 6, 1758 (Copy), Lancaster County, Pa., MSS., HSP.

<sup>8</sup> Heiges, *Stiegel and His Associates*, pp. 38–39.

<sup>9</sup> William McCord, Ledger, n.p., PHMC.

<sup>10</sup> Bond, Alexander Stedman to George Groff, May 27, 1766, Logan Papers, XXXVIII (Elizabeth Furnace Records), 75, 76, HSP.

<sup>11</sup> LCHS *Journal*, LXIII (1959), 171–73; William McCord, Day Book (1763–1767), p. 1 *et passim*, PHMC.

<sup>12</sup> NAARS (Appearance File), 1768, LCCH-PO.

<sup>13</sup> Hopewell Forge Ledger (1769–1770), p. 93, HSP.

<sup>14</sup> Henry Bouquet to Edward Shippen, June 14, 1759, Shippen Papers, IV, 67, HSP; Hugh Meredith to James Burd, April 1, 1760, *ibid.*, V, 25; Graydon and Hunter to Sarah Burd, July 20, 1761, *ibid.*, p. 161; Thomas Barton to Sir William Johnson, July 22, 1767, Johnson Papers, LC; Sarah Burd to James Burd, January 10, 1764, Shippen Family Papers, II, 60, HSP; Sarah Burd to James Burd, January 26, 1764, *ibid.*, p. 61; Sarah Burd to James Burd, October 30, 1763, Burd–Shippen–Hubley Papers (Sarah Burd's Letters to her Husband), HSP; Michael Hubley to Thomas Wharton, February 25, 1760, Society Collection, HSP.

<sup>15</sup> Shippen Family Papers, X, 61, HSP; Henry Bouquet to Edward Shippen, June 4, 1759 (Copy), *PMHB*, XXXII (1908), 457–458.

<sup>16</sup> Joseph Shippen, Jr. to [Edward Shippen], May 30, 1756, Shippen Family Papers, II, 43, HSP; VI, 97b, *ibid.*; Lancaster County Miscellaneous Papers (1724–1772), p. 125, HSP.

<sup>17</sup> Edward Shippen to Henry Bouquet, August 31, 1759 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Edward Shippen to [?], September 7, 1759 (Copy), *ibid.*; Benjamin Price to

Edward Shippen, December 18, 1759, Lancaster County Miscellaneous Papers (1724-1772), p. 129, HSP.

<sup>18</sup> Receipt, Christopher Hayne to James Burd, June 6, 1761, Burd-Shippen Papers (Receipts, 1757-1763), APS.

<sup>19</sup> Edward Shippen to William Allen, June 21, 1755 (Copy), Shippen Family Papers, 1, 197, HSP.

<sup>20</sup> James Hamilton to Edward Shippen, December 13, 1755, Burd-Shippen Papers, 1, APS; *PA*, Ser. 1, II, 649; George Washington to John St. Clair, June 14, 1750 (Copy), John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 210; Washington to William Henry, June 24, 1758 (Copy), *ibid.*, 224; Receipt, William Henry to James Burd, May 29, 1758, Burd-Shippen Papers (Receipts, 1759-1763), APS.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, July 25, 1765, Peters Papers, VI, 14, HSP.

<sup>22</sup> NAARS (Appearance File), 1760-1762, LCCH-PO.

<sup>23</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 24, 1769, p. 4 *et seq.*

<sup>24</sup> *PCR*, IX, 699-703; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 20, 1772; Thomas Barton to Thomas Penn, April 28, 1773, Penn MSS. (Official Correspondence), pp. 41, 77, HSP.

<sup>25</sup> *PCR*, IX, 657, 699-700; *LCHS Journal*, X (1906), 150-53; *PA*, Ser. 8, VIII, 6746-47.

<sup>26</sup> Charles Hamilton to John Mitchell, June 18, 1774, John Mitchell Papers (Correspondence, June, 1774), *ibid.* (Correspondence, October, 1774), *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> The Committee of Lancaster County to the Philadelphia Committee of Correspondence, March 16, 1776 (Copy), Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1762-1780), HSP.

<sup>28</sup> *PA*, Ser. 1, IV, 717-18; 1. Daniel Rupp, *History of Lancaster and York Counties* (Lancaster 1844), pp. 399, 403.

<sup>29</sup> *PA*, Ser. 1, V, 521; Committee of Lancaster County to the Philadelphia Committee of Safety, April 11, 1776 (Copy), Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1762-1768), HSP; *PCR*, X, 651.

<sup>30</sup> The Committee of Lancaster County to the Philadelphia Committee of Safety, April 11, 1776 (Copy), Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1762-1780), HSP; *PCR*, X, 651.

<sup>31</sup> George Washington to the Board of War, May 1, 1778 (Copy), in Fitzpatrick, *Washington's Writings*, II, 332; Washington to William Henry, March 28, 1778, Wayne MSS., IV, 117, HSP.

<sup>32</sup> *PA*, Ser. 1, V, 670; Henry MSS., II, 49, 71, 72, HSP; George Washington to Major General William Heath, January 12, 1780 (Copy), in Fitzpatrick, *Washington's Writings*, XVII, 379.

<sup>33</sup> *PA*, Ser. 1, VI, 180; Christopher Marshall, Sr. to Christopher Marshall, Jr., December 20, 1777 (Copy), Christopher Marshall Letterbook, HSP; Receipt, George Graff to William Henry, November 12, 1782, Henry MSS., II, 54, HSP.

<sup>34</sup> *PCR*, XI, 521.

<sup>35</sup> *PA*, Ser. 1, IV, 742-43; *PCR*, X, 647; *LCHS Journal*, VI (1902), 13-16; Jacob Working and Co. to Atlee and Lauman, 1776, William Atlee Papers, LC; Receipt, Henry Eberle to William Henry, June 21, 1780, Henry MSS., 1, HSP; Edward Shippen to [?], May 22, 1775, Shippen Family Papers, VII, 115, HSP; Joseph Simon to David Franks, January 13, 1777, McAllister MSS., Box 4, HSP.

<sup>36</sup> Mease and Caldwell to William Atlee, March 18, 1777, William Atlee Papers, LC; George Washington to the President of Congress, November 17, 1777 (Copy), in Fitzpatrick, *Washington's Writings*, X, 76; Rupp, *History of Lancaster and York Counties*, pp. 412-13, 419.

<sup>37</sup> The State of Pennsylvania in Account with Paul Zantzinger, October 28, 1776, Lancaster County Miscellaneous Papers (1772-1816), p. 85, HSP; William Irvine Papers, I, 26, HSP.; Cornelius Sweers to Gen. Edward Hand, April 20, 1777, Edward Hand Papers, I, 7, HSP; *PMHB*, XXXIX (1915), 232; *LCHS Journal*, V (1901), 96; *PCR*, XI, 85.

<sup>38</sup> *LCHS Journal*, LII (1948), 87; *PMHB*, LXX (1946), 248-49; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, July 20, 1780; Invoice David Franks to Joseph Simon, March 26, 1776, McAllister MSS., No. 3, HSP; Levy Andrew Levy to Patrick Rice, May 6, 1777, Lancaster County, Pa. MSS., HSP; Joseph Simon to Patrick Rice, June 1, 1777, *ibid.*; Account, Joseph Simon with David Franks, 1778, *ibid.*; Townsend Speakman to Jasper Yeates, October 15,

1783, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1781–1788), HSP; Jasper Yeates to Edward Shippen, August 13, 1776, Burd–Shippen Papers (Correspondence, Folder 7), PHMC.

<sup>39</sup> Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, MSS., HSP.

<sup>40</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XI (1907), 20; Anburey, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America*, II, 302.

<sup>41</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XI (1907), 20; Sarah Yeates to Jasper Yeates, October 17, 1776, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 14, Box 28, HSP; *PA*, Ser. 1, V, 202; William Henry to William Atlee, April 26, 1781, Henry MSS., I, 67, HSP; *PCR*, XI, 350.

<sup>42</sup> *Das Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-Blat*, May 20, 1778, p. 3; Levy Andrew Levy to Michael Gratz, January 9, 1780, McAllister MSS., Box 4, HSP.

<sup>43</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 23, 1777, p. 1 *et seq.*; *Das Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-Blat*, February 4, 1778, p. 4; *The Pennsylvania Packet*, January 21, 1778, pp. 1, 4; February 11, 1778, p. 4; May 13, 1778, p. 1; June 17, 1778, p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> Edward Shippen to James Burd, November 24, 1779, Shippen Family Papers, VIII, 65, HSP; records of the First Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa., Reformed Church Archives, Franklin and Marshall College.

<sup>45</sup> Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, June 14, 16, 1779; February 14, 1780, HSP. Tradesmen in the nearby towns based their own prices on those prevailing in Lancaster, and were, consequently, anxious to keep abreast of the market rates there. See Edward Burd to Jasper Yeates, September 8, 1777, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1762–1780), HSP.

<sup>46</sup> Mombert, *Lancaster County*, p. 277; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, June 28, 1779.

<sup>47</sup> Marshall, Remembrancer, March 12, April 29, 1778.

<sup>48</sup> *PCR*, XII, 317; William Henry to William Mease, July 30, 1782 (Copy), Henry MSS., I, 149, HSP; William Bradford to William Henry, July 8, 1782, *ibid.*, II, 52; William Henry to George Bryan, July 29, 1782 (Copy), *ibid.*, IV, 147; *The Freeman's Journal*, July 11, 1782, p. 2; July 24, 1782, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> LCHS *Journal*, LVIII (1954), 10; *PA*, Ser. 1, V, 396–97; Mombert, *Lancaster County*, p. 270.

<sup>50</sup> William Henry to Joseph Reed, March 3, 1781, Henry MSS., II, 75, HSP; Marshall, Remembrancer, December 11, 1777, January 5, 1781; LCHS *Journal*, IX (1905), 99; *PA*, Ser. 1, VI, 53–54, 55, 74; Christopher Marshall to his children, December 4, 1777 (Copy), Christopher Marshall Letterbook, HSP.

<sup>51</sup> *Christian Culture* (Lancaster, Pa.), II (1891), 92–93.

<sup>52</sup> William Henry to Joseph Reed, April 7, 1781 (Copy), Henry MSS., I, 61, HSP; Edward Shippen, Jr. to Jasper Yeates, July 4, 1781, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1781–1788), HSP; Yeates to Shippen, July 7, 1781 (Copy), *ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Jacob Zanck to Henry Phillips, August 20, 1787, MSS. Box 6, Folder 4, LCHS; Joseph Shippen, Jr. to Edward Shippen, Jr., February 26, 1787, Shippen Family Papers, VIII, 143, HSP.

<sup>54</sup> In January, 1789, approximately one-third of the £53.12.6 which William Hamilton, the town proprietor, collected in ground rents consisted of doubloons, moldores, and “half Joes.” See *PMHB*, XXIX (1905), 155n.

<sup>55</sup> LCHS *Journal*, LXIII (1959), 177; *Das Neue Unpartheyische Lancastersche Zeitung*, October 22, 1788, p. 3; February 11, 1789; John Jennings to Stephen Chambers, June 19, 1787, Lancaster County, Pa., MSS., HSP; Bond, Matthias Slough to Caleb and Amos Foulke, September 16, 1785; Society Miscellaneous Collection, Box 6a (Bonds and Obligations), HSP; Jasper Yeates to Edward Burd, January 13, 1789, Shippen Family Papers, XIII, 127, HSP; Henry Phillips to Joseph Hubley, January 23, 1788, Stauffer Collection, IX, 623, HSP; William Compton to Jasper Yeates, August 21, 1788, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 16, Box 11, HSP.

<sup>56</sup> Townsend Speakman to Jasper Yeates, October 15, 1783, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1781–1788), HSP; Speakman to Yeates, October 21, 1783, *ibid.*; Benjamin Swett to Jasper Yeates, December 8, 1787, *ibid.*; Wager and Habacker to Joseph Hubley, May 22, 1788, Diffenderfer MSS., LCHS; Robert Milligan to Joseph Simon, October 1, 1787 (Copy), Etting Collection, Miscellaneous MSS., II, 50, HSP.



<sup>57</sup> Lancaster County, Pa., MSS., (Stephen Chambers Estate Papers), HSP; *Das Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung*, March 26, 1788, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, Jr., October 2, 1785, Shippen Family Papers, VIII, 127, HSP; Draft of an Advertisement, Shippen Papers, X, 211, *ibid.*; Joseph Shippen, Jr. to Edward Shippen, Jr., February 7, 1789 (Copy), Shippen Papers (Edward, Joseph, and Others), Box 1, HSP; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 23, 1783, p. 3 *et seq.*; Etting Collection (Gratz-Croghan Papers), II, 21, HSP.

<sup>59</sup> The commercial transactions of Lancaster merchants still extended beyond the county. Shippen and Funk had customers as far away as Sunbury, Pa., as well as in Juniata; and Paul Zantzinger dealt with smaller traders located as far west as Carlisle. See Joseph Shippen, Jr., to Christian Gettig (Sunbury), October 10, 1786, Shippen Papers, II (Balch Papers), 57, HSP; George Patterson to James Burd, April 2, 1788, Shippen Family Papers, VII, 153, HSP; Paul Zantzinger to Jasper Yeates, April 21, 1788, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1781-1788), HSP.

<sup>60</sup> Isaac Weld, Jr., *Travels Through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London, 1799), pp. 66-68.

## Chapter Eight

<sup>1</sup> The percentage of Germans among the heads of families in the town has been determined by an analysis of the names contained in the borough assessment lists for 1759 and 1788, located in the Lancaster County Historical Society. The use of these lists for determining the ethnic background of Lancaster's inhabitants is not without its problems. Some of the German immigrants—like many newcomers in all periods of American history—Anglicized their names. Thus, "John Stone" is, indeed, Johann Stein. A further complication results from the fact that these lists were often compiled by German-speaking persons not wholly familiar with English orthography. Thus, "Garet Gabinogh" is actually Garrett Cavanaugh, and "James Glasby" is really James Gillespie. Similarly, "daylor" is tailor, "ratalor" is retailer, "sorchan" is surgeon, "blutier" is blue dyer, and "shirf" is sheriff. In most cases, the misspellings are phonetically correct—a happy clue to the accurate word.

<sup>2</sup> Abraham LeRoy, son of the trader of the same name who was killed by the Indians at Mahoning in 1755, lived in the borough until his death. Marie LeRoy, apparently Abraham's sister, who was a captive of the Indians for three and a half years, announced in May, 1759, her intention "to go to Lancaster" where she might easily be found by anyone seeking information concerning relatives or friends captured by the redmen. Henry M. Richards, "The Pennsylvania Germans in the French and Indian War" in *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*, XV (1903), 126.

<sup>3</sup> This table is based on the analysis of data contained on the assessment lists for Lancaster Borough in 1759, 1773, and 1788, located in the Lancaster County Historical Society.

<sup>4</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 19, 1744, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Lancaster Borough Assessment Lists, 1754 and 1788, LCHS.

<sup>6</sup> *Das Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung*, October 31, 1787, p. 4. For a list of indentured servants acquired by Lancaster residents between 1771 and 1773, see the "Record of Indentures of Individuals Bound Out as Apprentices, Servants, etc. in Philadelphia, Pa., 1771-1773," in *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*, XVI (1904).

<sup>7</sup> Burial Records, Trinity Lutheran Church, p. 5, LCHS; *Die Pennsylvanische Berichte*, June 1, 1750, p. 3; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 8, 1742, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Petitions, Phillip Limpt (1755), and Fanny Wooder (1758), unlabelled file box, 1756-1765, LCCH-PO.

<sup>9</sup> Road Docket 3, August Session, LCCH-PO; Charles Hamilton to John Mitchell, August 15, 1774, John Mitchell Papers (Correspondence, August, 1775), PHMC.

<sup>10</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 16, 1750, p. 2; Lancaster Borough Assessment List, c. 1750, LCCH-PO; Assessment List, 1756, Manuscript Box 16, LCHS; Tax List, c. 1764, Lancaster County Miscellaneous Papers (1772-1816), HSP; Assessment Lists, 1775, 1782, 1788,

LCHS.; *First Census of the United States, Pennsylvania* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), pp. 10, 135-138.

<sup>11</sup> Assessment Lists, 1759, 1775, 1782, 1783, LCHS; Tax List, c. 1764, Miscellaneous Lancaster County Papers (1772-1816), p. 135, HSP.; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 21, 1761, p. 4. In 1783, at least twenty-four of the fifty-seven slaves were girls or women.

<sup>12</sup> Tax List, Lancaster Borough, c. 1764, Miscellaneous Lancaster County Papers (1772-1816), 135, HSP; Assessment List, 1782, LCHS.

<sup>13</sup> Joseph Simon to Michael Gratz, October 10, 1772, McAllister MSS., No. 3, HSP; Edward Shippen to the Rev. George Craig, January 9, 1769 (copy of a letter which was not sent), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 23, 1761, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> "Extract aus dem Lancastersche Diariam," December 10, 1749, St. Andrew's Moravian Church, Lancaster, Pa.; William Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Annual Volume (1900), p. 204; H. M. J. Klein and William F. Diller, *The History of St. James' Church, 1744-1944* (Lancaster, 1944), p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 15, 1779, p. 4; *Das Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung*, October 1, 1788, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Edward Shippen to the Rev. George Craig, July 13, 1778 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS.

<sup>17</sup> Indenture of Anis McAdam to John Bowne, August 17, 1754, Miscellaneous MSS. (1743-1763), APS; Jasper Yeates, Memorandum Book (1764-1769), pp. 39, 40, HSP; Jasper Yeates, Day Book, February 23, 1767, LCHS; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, 1777-1779, *passim*, HSP; Records, St. James's Church, 1784-1799; Lancaster Corporation Book, September 13, 1788.

<sup>18</sup> Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, May 18, June 3, HSP; *PMHB*, XXIX (1903), 257.

<sup>19</sup> Edward Shippen to James Burd, July 17, 1778, Shippen Family Papers, VIII (1772-1821), 35, HSP; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, May 2, 3, 1778, HSP.

<sup>20</sup> Forms of money wealth such as book credit, mortgages, bonds, and notes were important assets and debts not considered for purposes of tax assessment.

<sup>21</sup> Lancaster Borough Assessment Lists, 1751 and 1788, LCHS.

<sup>22</sup> Lancaster Borough Assessment List, 1751, LCHS.

<sup>23</sup> Lancaster Borough Assessment List, 1788, LCHS.

<sup>24</sup> Inventories of Estate, Melchior Fortinee (1754), David Stout (1764), John Doll (1765), John Mayer (1766), Inventory File, LCTO.; Inventory, George Ross, Steinman Collection, Box 3, Folder 48, LCHS.

<sup>25</sup> Lancaster Borough Assessment Lists, 1751 and 1788, LCHS.

<sup>26</sup> Lancaster Borough Assessment Lists, 1782 and 1788, LCHS.

<sup>27</sup> Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, August 28, 1773 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS.

<sup>28</sup> William Hamilton to his Private Secretary, July, n.d., 1788 (Copy), *PMHB*, XXIX (1903), 151.

<sup>29</sup> Lancaster Borough Assessment Lists, 1759 and 1788, LCHS.

<sup>30</sup> Lancaster Borough Assessment Lists, 1756, 1775, 1788, LCHS; Tax List, c. 1764, Miscellaneous Lancaster County Papers (1772-1816), HSP.

<sup>31</sup> Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, September 22, 1760 (Copy), Shippen Papers, 1 (Balch Papers), 120, HSP.

<sup>32</sup> Lancaster Borough Assessment Lists, 1759, 1772, and 1788, LCHS; Tax List, c. 1764, Miscellaneous Lancaster County Papers (1772-1816), HSP.

<sup>33</sup> Lancaster Borough Assessment Lists, 1756, 1759, 1772, 1788, LCHS; Tax List, c. 1764, Miscellaneous Lancaster County Papers (1772-1816), HSP.

<sup>34</sup> Hamilton Ground Rent Roll, LCHS.

<sup>35</sup> Tax List, c. 1764, Miscellaneous Lancaster County Papers (1772-1816), HSP.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Borough Assessment List, 1788, LCHS.

<sup>37</sup> *LCHS Journal*, XLVI (1942), 47-48.

<sup>38</sup> Even as he laid out the town, James Hamilton assumed that more affluent people should live at the center; hence, he set the ground rents higher for properties within the first two squares from the court house.

<sup>39</sup> *PA*, Ser. 8, VII, 5796-97; Petition of the Borough of Lancaster, Lancaster County Miscellaneous Papers (1724-1772), p. 157, HSP.

<sup>40</sup> Inventory of Estate, Sebastian Groff (1763), Inventory File, LCTO; *LCHS Journal*, V (1901) 108-109; XLVI (1942), 48-49; Rebecca Gratz to Maria Gist Gratz, November 5, 1837, in David Philipson (ed.), *Letters of Rebecca Gratz* (Philadelphia, 1929), p. 245.

<sup>41</sup> *LCHS Journal*, XXX (1926), 75-79; XLVII (1943), 113-19; *PMHB*, XXXV (1911), 337; Lancaster Borough Assessment List, 1789, LCHS.

<sup>42</sup> *LCHS Journal*, XLVI (1942), 47-48; Thomas Cookson to William Peters, August 30, 1745, Lancaster County Miscellaneous Papers (1724-1772), p. 53, HSP; Captain Richard Peters Papers (The Rev. Richard Peters Box), HSP.

<sup>43</sup> Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, March 28, 1753 (Copy), Letters from Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, APS; Edward Shippen to Gov. Robert Morris, June 17, 1755 (Copy), *et passim*, Edward Shippen Letterbook, APS; Edward Shippen to James Burd, June 21, 1760 (Copy), *ibid.*; Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, Jr., January 4, 1750 (Copy), Shippen Papers, I (Bach Papers), 26, HSP; Joseph Shippen, Jr. to Sarah Shippen, January 18, 1750, *ibid.*, 27; Shippen Papers, VI, 137, HSP; Receipt, Joseph Galloway to Edward Shippen, December 9, 1766, Burd-Shippen-Hubley Papers, HSP; *PMHB*, XXIV (1900), 22; *PA*, Ser. 2, IX, 773, 774, 775; *PCR*, VI, 431.

<sup>44</sup> *The Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 177-78.

<sup>45</sup> *LCHS Journal*, XXXI (1927); Invoice, John Cox to William Atlee, November, 4, 1776, William Atlee Papers, LC; Richard Peters to William Atlee, September 6, 1777, *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Jasper Yeates to John Yeates, October 9, 1764, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 3, Box 35, HSP; Richard Peters, Jr. to Jasper Yeates, February 7, 1765, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1762-1780), HSP; Edward Shippen, Jr. to Edward Shippen, September 12, 1764, Shippen Family Papers, XI, 63, HSP; Shippen, Jr. to Shippen, September 20, 1764, *ibid.*, 64; Phineas Bond to Jasper Yeates, January 27, 1771, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1762-1780), HSP; Jasper Yeates to [Edward] Shippen, Jr., June 25, 1781 (Copy), *ibid.* (Correspondence 1781-1788); Edward Shippen, Jr. to Jasper Yeates, July 4, 1781, *ibid.*; Thomas Hartley to Jasper Yeates, December 2, 1783, *ibid.*; Jasper Yeates to Edward Burd, February 2, 1789, Shippen Family Papers, XIII, 133, HSP; Edward Shippen, Jr. to Jasper Yeates, March 10, 1781, Stauffer Collection, XIII, 924, HSP; Edward Shippen, Jr., to Jasper Yeates, April 19, 1785, Stauffer Collection (Political), The New York Public Library; Jasper Yeates to Edward Hand, November 20, 1785, Society Collection, HSP; Edward Burd to Jasper Yeates, September 4, 1788, Yeates-Burd Collection, Box 2, HSP; B[enjamin] Franklin and James Wilson to Jasper Yeates, July 4, 1776, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 1, Box 20, HSP.

<sup>47</sup> William Egle, *Historical Register, Notes and Queries*, I (Harrisburg, 1883), 75; *LCHS Journal*, I (1896), 201; Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, pp. 227-28.

<sup>48</sup> *LCHS Journal*, XLVI (1942), 52-53; *The Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 511; Harry M. and Margaret B. Tinkcom, *Historic Germantown* (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 98; James F. Gibson, *Dr. Bodo Otto and the Medical Background of the American Revolution* (Springfield, Ill., 1937), pp. 66, 67-68; Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, (eds.), *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia, 1942), I, *passim*; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 1, 1768, p. 3.

<sup>49</sup> *LCHS Journal*, L (1946), 34; George Gray to Edward Hand, November 12, 1783, Emmet Collection, The New York Public Library; Matthias Slough to Edward Hand, November 12, 1783, *ibid.*

## Chapter Nine

<sup>1</sup> Witham Marshe, "Journal," p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*; J. Max Hark (trans.), *Chronicon Ephratense: A History of the Community of Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1889), p. 193; H. M. J. Klein, *The History of the Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 182-83; Michael Schlatter, *Warhafte Erzählung von dem Wahren Zustand der Meist Hirtenlosen-Gemeinden in Pennsylvanien und denen Angrenzenden Provinze* (Frankfurt,

1752), p. 47; Cramer, *History of the First Reformed Church*, p. 46, 54-55n; Hinke (ed.), *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, pp. 89, 117, 118, 131, 148, 160, 161, 172, 200, 210, 320, 430; First Reformed Church records (Hinke transcription) p. 105; LCHS *Journal* XLV (1941), 131-32.

<sup>3</sup> Marshe, "Journal," p. 278; Tappert and Doberstein (eds.), *Muhlenberg's Journals*, I, 94; LCHS *Journal*, XLV (1941), 127-30.

<sup>4</sup> Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 4, II, 189, 283; John Tracy Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial America* (Baltimore, 1965), p. 375; LCHS *Journal*, XL1 (1937), 57; Sener, "The Catholic Church at Lancaster," pp. 7, 10; Musser, "History of St. Mary's Church," pp. 21, 32; *PA*, Ser. 1, III, 145; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 25, 1760, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Minutes of the Vestry of St. James's Church, Lancaster, Pa., pp. 1, 3-4, 7-8, 17, 20; Witham Marshe, "Journal," p. 278; Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, February 5, 1767, Peters Papers, VI, 47, HSP; Thomas Barton to James Hamilton, May 9, 1768, Penn-Bailey Collection, HSP; LCHS *Journal*, XXXVII (1933), 82; XL (1936), 87-88; XL1 (1937), 34; Klein and Diller, *History of St. James' Church*, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XLV (1941), 138-39; LI (1947), 6; Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, April 19, 1760 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS.

<sup>7</sup> Marion W. Reninger, "A Brief History of the First Presbyterian Church in Lancaster, Pennsylvania," (typescript in The Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.) (n.p.), ch. 3 and Appendix; LCHS *Journal*, XLIII (1939), 131; XLV (1941), 135, 137; Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, April 19, May 28, 1760 (Copies), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 7, 1761, p. 5; November 12, 1761, p. 1; Hamilton Ground Rent Roll, LCHS; *PA*, Ser. 8, VII, 5972-73, 6000.

<sup>8</sup> Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, II, 5-6 53; Wolf and Whiteman, *Jews of Philadelphia*, pp. 48-50, 51-52, 63-64, 125; Christopher Marshall, "Remembrancer," October 30, 1778; *Publications of The American Jewish Historical Society*, XXVII (1919), 462; LCHS *Journal*, V (1901), 94; XLV (1941), 140.

<sup>9</sup> I. Daniel Rupp, *The History of Lancaster and York Counties* (Lancaster, 1844), p. 284; J. Max Hark, "The Beginnings of the Moravian Church in Lancaster, Pa.," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, XI (1936), p. 178; *Christian Culture* (Lancaster, 1891), II, 13; Tappert and Doberstein (eds.), *Muhlenberg's Journals*, I, 153-70.

<sup>10</sup> Schmaux, *Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, 297-303; Tappert and Doberstein (eds.), *Muhlenberg's Journals*, I, 109, 111-12, 114; *PA*, Ser. 8, IV, 3065, 3072-73; *Hallesche Nachrichten* (Halle, 1787), p. 67.

<sup>11</sup> Hinke (ed.), *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, pp. 24-25; The Classical Deputies to the Rev. J. B. Rieger, June 6, 1746 (Copy), "Letters and Documents Relating to the Reformed Church," Reformed Church Archives, Lancaster, Pa.; Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>12</sup> Hark, "Beginnings of the Moravian Church," pp. 179-80; Hark, *The Old Moravian Chapel*, p. 2; Tappert and Doberstein (eds.), *Muhlenberg's Journals*, I, 153, 154, 170; material from the church records of St. Andrew's Moravian Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

<sup>13</sup> Hark, "Beginnings of the Moravian Church," pp. 179-80; Abraham Reinke, "Extract aus dem Lancastersche Diarium," May 27, 1749; September 27, October 4, October 27, 1750.

<sup>14</sup> *Hallesche Nachrichten* (Halle, 1787), p. 67; "Extract aus dem Lancastersche Diarium," July 21, August 28, 1749; October 27, 1750; Tappert and Doberstein, *Muhlenberg's Journals*, I, 195.

<sup>15</sup> Tappert and Doberstein (eds.), *Muhlenberg's Journals*, I, 222-23, 455; II, 510-50; Egle, *Notes and Queries* (1896), 38-39; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 1, 1765, p. 3; Hinke (ed.), *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, 308-309; Klein, *Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church*, 370-71; LCHS *Journal*, XXX (1926), 5; XXX1 (1927), 127-29; MSS. Box 6 (Joseph Hubley MSS.), LCHS.

<sup>16</sup> Tappert and Doberstein, *Muhlenberg's Journals*, II, 346.

<sup>17</sup> Schmaux, *Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 295-97; see the list of ministers in Cramer, *History of the First Reformed Church*.

<sup>18</sup> "Extract aus dem Lancastersche Diarium," August 21, 1749; Tappert and Doberstein, *Muhlenberg's Journals*, II, 318-19.



<sup>19</sup> Vestry Records, St. James's Church, pp. 4-5; LCHS *Journal*, XXXVII (1933), 86-87; Hinke (ed.), *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, pp. 270-72.

<sup>20</sup> Tappert and Doberstein, *Muhlenberg's Journals*, I, 223, 538; II, 353 *et passim*; *Hallesche Nachrichten* (Allentown, 1886), I, 542, 546 *et passim*; Records of the First Reformed Church; Burial Records, Trinity Lutheran Church, p. 5, LCHS.

<sup>21</sup> Marshe, "Journal," p. 278; Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, 102-103; "Extract aus dem Lancastersche Diarium," July 22, 29, August 7, 1750; Cramer, *History of the First Reformed Church*, p. 27; Hinke (ed.), *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>22</sup> Hinke (ed.), *Minute and Letters of the Coetus*, pp. 270-72, 281-82.

<sup>23</sup> Schmaux, *Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 313-14, 320; Tappert and Doberstein, *Muhlenberg's Journals*, I, 693.

<sup>24</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XL (1936), 81-82, 89-90; XLI (1937), 41, 42, 43; *PMHB*, XXIV (1900), 472-73, 276-68; *Hallesche Nachrichten* (Allentown, 1886), I, 576; Vestry Minutes, St. James's Church, pp. 4-5, 12-13, 15, 16; Tappert and Doberstein (eds.), *Mulhenberg's Journals*, I, 154.

<sup>25</sup> *Hallesche Nachrichten* (Halle, 1787), pp. 145-46; (Allentown, 1886), II, 540-41; "Extract aus dem Lancastersche Diarium," August 21, 1749; Tappert and Doberstein, *Muhlenberg's Journals*, I, 271.

<sup>26</sup> Cramer, *History of the First Reformed Church*, pp. 31-33; Hinke, *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, pp. 154-55.

<sup>27</sup> *Hallesche Nachrichten* (Halle, 1787), pp. 145-46; (Allentown, 1886), II, 683; "Extract aus dem Lancastersche Diarium," May 7, July 2, September 3, 1749.

<sup>28</sup> *Hallesche Nachrichten* (Halle, 1787), pp. 145-46; LCHS *Journal*, XLIV (1941), 127; Ann Little to Sarah Yeates, October n.d., 1764. Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1762-1780), HSP; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 4, II, 283; Cramer, *History of the First Reformed Church*, pp. 54-55n.

<sup>29</sup> Schmaux, *Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 310; Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Reise nach Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1750* (Stuttgart, 1756), p. 105; Cramer, *History of the First Reformed Church*, p. 46.

<sup>30</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XLV (1941), 135.

<sup>31</sup> "Extract aus dem Lancastersche Diarium," February 18, 23, June 30, July 27, 1749.

<sup>32</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XLV (1941), 129-30.

<sup>33</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 10, 1771, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Klein and Diller, *History of St. James' Church*, p. 56.

<sup>35</sup> C. H. Maxson, *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies* (Chicago, 1920), pp. 4-5. For a general treatment of the Great Awakening, with representative texts, see Perry Miller and Alan Heimert (eds.), *The Great Awakening* (Indianapolis, 1967).

<sup>36</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XL (1936), 81, 82, 84, 91; 45 (1941), 135.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas Barton, "If any Man be in Christ, he is a New Creature" (sermon), typescript in the possession of the Rev. Robert C. Batchelder, St. James's Church, Lancaster, Pa.; LCHS *Journal* XXXV (1931), 288-99.

<sup>38</sup> LCHS *Journal*, V (1901), 109-11; Schmaux, *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 331, 334.

<sup>39</sup> *Memorial Volume of Trinity Lutheran Church*, p. 71; Thomas Barton to Sir William Johnson, July 26, 1770, Johnson Papers (1755-1774), LC.

<sup>40</sup> *Memorial Volume of Trinity Lutheran Church*, pp. 55-57.

<sup>41</sup> Maxson, *Great Awakening*, p. 124; Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 236; Reninger, *History of the First Presbyterian Church*, ch. 3; LCHS *Journal*, XLIII (1939), 131-32; XLV (1941), 142; LII (1948), 89; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, July 13, 1779.

<sup>42</sup> LCHS *Journal*, V (1901), 109-11; Schmaux, *Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 331, 334; *Memorial Volume of Trinity Lutheran Church*, pp. 55-57.

<sup>43</sup> Jasper Yeates to Duncan Campbell, December 9, 1764 (Copy), Yeates Letterbook (1769-1771), HSP.

<sup>44</sup> Richard Peters to the Proprietaries, November 17, 1742 (Copy), Richard Peters Letterbook (1737-1750), HSP.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Barton to James Burd, April 28, 1766, Shippen Papers, VI, 147, HSP; material supplied by the Rev. Robert C. Batchelder, St. James's Church, Lancaster, Pa.

<sup>46</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 5, 1761, p. 1; July 9, 1761, p. 4; LCHS *Journal*, XXXV (1931), 243.

<sup>47</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 25, 1760, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Sener, "The Catholic Church at Lancaster," p. 7; Cramer, *History of the First Reformed Church*, p. 43.

<sup>49</sup> LCHS *Journal*, LXXXV (1941), 130; Tappert and Doberstein, *Muhlenberg's Journals*, II, 510; Klein and Diller, *History of St. James' Church*, p. 49-50.

## Chapter Ten

<sup>1</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XLVI (1942), 46; Jasper Yeates to Duncan Campbell, August 10, 1770 (Copy), January 2, 1771 (Copy), Yeates Letterbook, HSP; Richard Peters, Jr. to Jasper Yeates, February 14, 1776, Yeates Papers (Correspondence 1762-1780), HSP; Edward Shippen to William Logan, November 4, 1767 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Robert Boyd to [Jasper Yeates], May 25, 1774, Society Collection, HSP.

<sup>2</sup> LCHS *Journal*, IV (1900), 101-102; Jasper Yeates to Duncan Campbell, August 10, 1770 (Copy), Yeates Letterbook, HSP.

<sup>3</sup> James Shippen to ?, April 24, 178?, Shippen Papers (Edward, Joseph, and Others), Box 1, HSP; Joseph Shippen, Jr. to Edward Shippen, June 23, 1788 (Copy), *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> "Extract aus dem Lancastersche Diarium," February 7, 1750; Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1845), p. 397.

<sup>5</sup> "Extract aus dem Lancastersche Diarium," November 2, 1749; Jasper Yeates, Day Book, p. 14, LCHS; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 12, 1766, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Jasper Yeates, Day Book, 11, LCHS; Witham Marshe, "Journal," p. 291; *The Pennsylvania Chronicle*, June 6-13, 1768, p. 158.

<sup>7</sup> Lancaster County Commissioners' Book, p. 116, LCCH-PO; Edward Shippen to William Shippen, September 22, 1761 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, September 20, 1763, Correspondence of Edward Shippen and Joseph Shippen, APS; Jasper Yeates, Day Book, pp. 32, 34, LCHS; Jasper Yeates, Memorandum Book, p. 13, HSP; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 27, 1763, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Mombert, *History of Lancaster County*, p. 220; Mary Morgan to John Baynton, February 23, 1778, Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers (John Baynton, 1774-1792), PHMC; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, October 3, 1777; *PMHB*, LXIII (1939), 206-207.

<sup>9</sup> LCHS *Journal*, VIII (1904), 230-32, 232-33; Henry Helmuth and Albert Helphenstone to Jasper Yeates, February 8, 1778, Stauffer Collection (Religious, Legal, and Mercantile), the New York Public Library; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, February 10, 1778. A "Brilliant Ball" held on February 20, 1778, attracted, according to Marshall, "a great number of Fobs, fools, &c. of both sexes, old and young." At another, held on January 31, there were "above one Hundred men and women . . . dressed in all their gaeity." The refreshments for that occasion included a "Cold Collation, with wine, punch, Sweet Cakes, &c.;" the "Musick, Dancing, Singing, &c." went on until 4 a.m. See entries in the Remembrancer under January 31, February 21, March 4, 6, 25, 1778.

<sup>10</sup> LCHS *Journal*, LVIII (1954), 6, 7, 12; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, February 15, 1780; Jasper Yeates to Edward Hand, March 2, 1783, Society Collection, HSP.

<sup>11</sup> James Milligan to Edward Hand, November 2, 1777, Edward Hand Papers, PHMC; Jasper Yeates to Edward Hand, October 23, 1777, Society Collection, HSP; Jasper Yeates to Sarah Yeates, October 27, 1781, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1781-1788), HSP; Sarah Yeates to Jasper Yeates, October 29, 1781, *ibid.*; Lancaster Corporation Book, September 11, 1786; Jasper Yeates to James Burd, March 26, 1783, Shippen Family Papers, VIII, 89, HSP; Yeates to Burd, February 16, 1784, *ibid.*, XIII; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, October 21, 1777, May 13, 1778, February 12, 1781; *PMHB*, XLVI (1922), 222; LXXXI (1957), 84-85; LCHS *Journal*, XXVII (1923), 93, 95.

<sup>12</sup> Jasper Yeates, Day Book, pp. 61, 66, 80, LCHS; John Miller, Day Book, p. 14 in the possession of Mr. J. Robert Moore, Lancaster, Pa.

<sup>13</sup> LCHS *Journal*, VII (1903), 27–29; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 4, II, 323; Jasper Yeates to James Burd, March 26, 1783, Shippen Family Papers, VIII, 89, HSP; Christopher Marshall, Remembrancer, March 17, 1781; *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XIX (1910), 48; Joseph S. Howell to Stephen Chambers, January 5, 1785, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, MSS. (Stephen Chambers Estate Papers), HSP.

<sup>14</sup> Marshe, "Journal," p. 295; Edward Shippen to Edward Shippen, Jr., October 24, 1763 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Invoice, Eberhart Michael to James Ralfe, December 17, 1765, Steinman Collection, Box 1, Folder 15, LCHS; Tappert and Doberstein (eds.), *Muhlenberg's Journals*, II, 344.

<sup>15</sup> Burial Records, Trinity Lutheran Church, pp. 3–4, LCHS.

<sup>16</sup> Jasper Yeates to Duncan Campbell, December 9, 1769, August 10, 1770 (Copies), Yeates Letterbook, HSP; Vestry Minutes, St. James's Church, pp. 14, 46; LCHS *Journal*, VIII (1904), 234.

<sup>17</sup> Road Docket 4, May Session, 1769, February Session, 1770; Road Docket 6, 179, LCCH-PO.

<sup>18</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XLII (1938), 180; "Biographical Sketch of Margaret (Graff) Okely," Records of St. Andrew's Moravian Church, Lancaster, Pa.; Sarah Yeates to Jasper Yeates, July, n.d., 1770, Society Collection, HSP; Egle, *Historical Register, Notes and Queries*, II (1884), 228, 230; *PMHB*, XLII (1918), 154.

<sup>19</sup> *Memorial Volume of Trinity Lutheran Church*, p. 70; Schmaux, *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 346.

<sup>20</sup> *Die Pennsylvanische Berichte*, April 16, 1750, p. 3; John Miller, Ledger B, 258 *et passim*; "Extract aus dem Lancastersche Diarium," 1749 and 1750 *passim*; Bernard Hubley to Ludwig Lauman, May 24, 1765, Society Collection, HSP; *Memorial Volume of Trinity Lutheran Church*, p. 71. For an appreciation of the difficulties faced by a German merchant in communicating with his English correspondent in Philadelphia, see Michael Hubley to Thomas Wharton, February 25, 1760, Society Collection, HSP.

<sup>21</sup> Benjamin Rush, *A Letter Describing the Consecration of the German College at Lancaster in June, 1787* (Lancaster, 1945), pp. 116–17; Joseph Henry Dubbs, *The History of Franklin and Marshall College* (Lancaster, 1903), pp. 50–51.

<sup>22</sup> *PMHB*, XLIV (1920), 222; XLII (1938), 113–14.

## Chapter Eleven

<sup>1</sup> Livingood, *Eighteenth-Century Reformed Church Schools*, pp. 42–43, 44, 46; Maurer, *Early Lutheran Education*, pp. 87, 186; Schmaux, *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 307–308, 327n.; *Hallesche Nachrichten* (Allentown, 1886), I, 532, 534, 545; notes from the records of St. Andrew's Moravian Church, Lancaster, Pa.; Hark, "The Old Moravian Chapel," Steinman Collection, LCHS; "Extract aus dem Lancastersche Diarium," November 13, December 20, 1749.

<sup>2</sup> Schmaux, *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 307–308.

<sup>3</sup> Livingood, *Eighteenth-Century Reformed Church Schools*, pp. 2, 219, 226, 228, 241; Hark, "The Old Moravian Chapel," p. 7; Tappert and Doberstein (eds.), *Muhlenberg's Journals*, II, 344.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel E. Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1905), pp. 24, 26–28, 32, 44, 45–46; MSS., German Free Schools, Pennsylvania, 1755, HSP; LCHS *Journal*, XLII (1938), 6–7.

<sup>5</sup> LCHS *Journal*, XLII (1938), 6–7; Weber, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 45–46; Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, December 13, 1757 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS.

<sup>6</sup> Weber, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 45–46, 47; LCHS *Journal*, XLII (1938), 8, 11; Hinke (ed.), *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, pp. 144, 161; Edward Shippen to William Smith, August 1, 1757 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS.

<sup>7</sup> Hinke (ed.), *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, pp. 138, 157; Livingood, *Eighteenth-Century Reformed Church Schools*, pp. 212–213; Weber, *Charity School Movement*, 55.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, July 5, 1763, Peters Papers, VI, 10, HSP; Klein and Diller, *The History of St. James' Church*, pp. 46, 47.

<sup>9</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 24, 1743, p. 3; November 4, 1762, p. 4; January 27, 1763, p. 4; July 12, 1764, p. 3; *Die Lancastersche Zeitung*, June 16, 1752, p. 4; Receipt, John Powell to James Burd, May 11, 1763, Burd-Shippen Papers (Letters, 1740-1792), APS; Jasper Yeates, Memorandum Book (1764-1769), HSP; *The Charter, Laws, &c . . . of the Juliana Library Company* (1766), Preface x-xi n.; Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, July 5, 1763, Peters Papers, VI, 10, HSP; Klein and Diller, *History of St. James' Church*, pp. 46-47; Dubbs, *The History of Franklin and Marshall College*, p. 66; *Das Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung*, June 18, 1788, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Klein and Diller, *The History of St. James' Church*, p. 68; Sarah Yeates to Jasper Yeates, October 29, 1781, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1781-1788), HSP; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 2, 1782, p. 3; May 7, 1783, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Brown to Jasper Yeates, September 3, 1783, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1781-1788), HSP; Rupp, *History of Lancaster and York Counties*, p. 446.

<sup>12</sup> Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 41; *Das Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung*, January 9, 1788, p. 3; Sarah Yeates to Jasper Yeates, April 28, 1788, Yeates-Burd Collection, Box 1 (Yeates Correspondence), HSP. As early as 1760, it was reported that a teacher was proceeding to Lancaster "where he is either to keep a French school or to assist some other person to do it," but there is no evidence that such a school was established at that time. See Edward Shippen, Jr., to Edward Shippen, February 2, 1760, Shippen Family Papers, V, 99, HSP.

<sup>13</sup> Dubbs, *History of Franklin and Marshall College*, pp. 12-13, 15-17, 18, 19, 80.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 24-28; Benjamin Rush, *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1875), pp. 43-44.

<sup>17</sup> Dubbs, *History of Franklin and Marshall College*, pp. 29-30, 46, 61, 71-75; H.M.J. Klein, *The History of Franklin and Marshall College, 1787-1948* (Lancaster, 1952), pp. 26-27; Tappert and Doberstein (eds.), *Muhlenberg's Journals*, III, 750.

<sup>18</sup> Edward Shippen to [Edward Burd], January 13, 1770 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Shippen to John Powell, October 24, 1769 (Copy), *ibid.*; Edward Burd to Edward Shippen, September 16, 1769, Burd-Shippen Papers (General Correspondence, Folder 5), PHMC; Burd to Shippen, January 26, 1770, *ibid.*, Folder 6; Burd to Shippen, March 1, 1769, Burd-Shippen-Hubley Papers (Edward Burd Papers), HSP.

<sup>19</sup> Inventory of Estate, David Stout, 1764, Inventory File, 1764, LCTO.

<sup>20</sup> Tappert and Doberstein (eds.), *Muhlenberg's Journals*, II, 431.

<sup>21</sup> *PMHB.*, XLVI (1922), 207; Stauffer Collection, VIII, 589, HSP.

<sup>22</sup> *LCHS Journal*, VII (1903), 77-78; *Das Hoch-Deutsch-Americanische Calender auf 1755*, published by Christopher Sauer in Germantown, was sold in Lancaster by Heinrich Walter, shopkeeper.

<sup>23</sup> Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 120-21; *LCHS Journal*, I (1896); *Die Pennsylvanische Berichte*, February 16, 1748, p. 6; March 16, 1748, p. 3; June 16, 1748, p. 4; April 16, 1749, pp. 3-4; June 1, 1749, p. 3; October 16, 1749, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> *Die Pennsylvanische Berichte*, October 16, 1752, p. 4; Charles F. Hildeburn, *A Century of Printing: the Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784* (Philadelphia, 1885), II, 6; Inventory of Estate, Mary Dougherty, 1766, Inventory File, 1766, LCTO; *Die Philadelphische Zeitung*, November 5, 1757, p. 4; *Der Wochentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, October 4, 1762, p. 3; Tappert and Doberstein (eds.), *Muhlenberg's Journals*, II, 491; Charles Hamilton to John Mitchell, September 6, 1774, John Mitchell Papers (Correspondence, September, 1774), PHMC.

<sup>25</sup> *Die Lancastersche Zeitung*, 1752, *passim*; *Das Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung*, August 8, 1787, p. 1; September 5, 1787, p. 4; October 10, 1787, p. 3; June 18, 1788, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 16, 1767, p. 4; Stauffer Collection, VIII, 589, HSP.

<sup>27</sup> *The Charter, Laws . . . &c. of the Juliana Library Company* (1766), pp. 12, 14, 15; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 13, 1760, p. 2; September 10, 1767, p. 1; *LCHS Journal*, VI (1902), 76-77; XXXIII (1929), 195-96, 200, 201, 238-244; Thomas Barton to Thomas Penn,



November 24, 1760, Penn MSS. (Official Correspondence), IX, 148, HSP; Edward Shippen to James Hamilton, July 6, 1761 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Edward Shippen and Thomas Barton to James Hamilton, January 12, October 6, 1763, Burd-Shippen Papers II, APS. I have found no evidence to support the assertion that "the Shippens of Philadelphia supplied the impetus for the founding of the Juliana Library Company . . ." *PMHB*, LXV (1941), 24.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 6, 1773, p. 3; October 6, 1784, p. 1; *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, II (Philadelphia, 1810), 71; Lancaster County Miscellaneous Papers (1724-1772), pp. 235-39, HSP; Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, November 8, 1770, Peters Papers, VII, 14, HSP; Barton to Peters, January 2, 1773, *ibid.*, VIII, 17; Minutes, Directors of the Juliana Library Company, December 21, 1772 (Copy), Society Collection (under William Atlee), HSP.

<sup>29</sup> *The Charter, Laws . . . &c. of the Juliana Library Company* (1766), Preface, viii.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, ix.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*; "Books to be Added to the Catalogue of the Juliana Library of Lancaster."

<sup>32</sup> *The Charter, Laws . . . &c. of the Juliana Library Company* (1766), pp. 31-54.

<sup>33</sup> *Das Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung*, August 8, 1787, p. 1.

<sup>34</sup> Hildeburn, *A Century of Printing*, I, 225; *LCHS Journal*, VIII (1904), 57, 58-59; XLVII (1944), 4, 132; LXI (1957), 8; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 26, 1754, pp. 4, 6; February 3, 1779, p. 3; Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Reise naeh Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1750* (Stuttgart, 1756), p. 91; Benjamin Franklin to Edward Shippen, February 14, 1754 (Copy), in Labaree (ed.), *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, V, 199, 199n; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 4, II, 23; *Der Republikanische Calender Auf das 1779ste Jahr Christi* (Lancaster, 1778); James Owen Knauss, *Social Conditions Among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century* (Lancaster, 1922), pp. 24-25.

<sup>35</sup> Hildeburn, *A Century of Printing*, I, 225, 267, 290, 294; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 22, 1754, p. 2; *Das Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-Blat*, February 18, 1778, p. 4; *LCHS Journal*, VIII (1904), 67; *Das Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung*, February 13, 1788, p. 3; *Das Zurbilde des heilsamen Worten* (Lancaster, 1788). A copy of the latter work is in the Pennsylvania Farm Museum of Landis Valley, Lancaster, Pa. See also Tench Coxe, *A View of the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1794), p. 161n.

<sup>36</sup> Hildeburn, *A Century of Printing*, I, 285, 286-87, 292, 296, 308, 325; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 13, 1754, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Hildeburn, *A Century of Printing*, I, 261, 307, 310; II, 129-220 *passim*; Lottie M. Bausman, *A Bibliography of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1745-1912* (Philadelphia, n.d.), pp. 6, 11; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 8, 1756, p. 3; Charles Evans (ed.), *American Bibliography* (Chicago, 1903-1934), *passim*; William Duane (ed.), *Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall* (Albany, 1877), p. 167; *LCHS Journal*, LII (1948), 91; *The Pennsylvania Packet*, March 18, 1788, p. 3; *PA*, Ser. 1, VI, 10, 18.

<sup>38</sup> *LCHS Journal*, VIII (1904), p. 63, 64; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 30, 1772, p. 1; September 22, 1773, p. 4; September 21, 1774, p. 4; November 15, 1775, p. 6; Milton Drake (comp.), *Almanacs of the United States* (New York, 1962), II, *passim*; *Der Republikanische Calender Auf das 1779ste Jahr Christi* (Lancaster, 1778), a copy of which is in the LCHS; *ibid.*, 1780 (Lancaster, 1779); *Das Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung*, August 8, 1787, p. 4.

<sup>39</sup> *Die Lancastersche Zeitung, Oder Ein Kurzer Begriff Der Hauptfachlichten Ausländische und Einheimischen Neuigkeiten* (copy in HSP); *Die Hoch-Teutsche und Englische Zeitung*, January 25, 1752, p. 4 (photostat in HSP); *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 21, 1752, p. 2; Labaree (ed.); *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, IV, 262, 506-508; Thomas Wharton to William Dunlap, April 17, April 25, 1754 (Copies), Thomas Wharton Letterbook (1752-1759), HSP; Dunlap; to Wharton [undated, but c. April 23, 1754 (Copy)], *PMHB*, XXII (1898), 372-73.

<sup>40</sup> The first Lancaster issue of *The Pennsylvania Packet* appeared on November 29, 1777. After December 3, it was issued weekly, and continued to be published on this basis until June 17, 1778, at which time the sheet was again issued in Philadelphia. *LCHS Journal*, XIX (1915), 337-38; *PCR*, XI, 409, 521; *Das Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-Blat*, February 4, 1778, p.

1; Charles S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (Worcester, Mass., 1947), II, 871.

<sup>41</sup> LCHS *Journal*, VIII (1904), 67-68; *Das Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung, und Anzeigs-Machrichten*, August 8, 1787, p. 1; September 26, 1787, p. 1; October 27, 1787, p. 1; November 28, 1787, p. 1; February 13, 1788, p. 1; February 20, 1788, p. 1. A file of this newspaper is in the LCHS.

<sup>42</sup> *The Charter, Laws . . . &c. of the Juliana Library Company* (1766), pp. 26, 55-56.

<sup>43</sup> Benjamin Smith Barton, *A Discourse on Some of the Principal Desiderata in Natural History* (Philadelphia, 1806), p. 86; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, IV, ii, 44; William Barton, *Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse* (Philadelphia, 1813), pp. 100-104, 118, 119; Thomas Barton to Sir William Johnson, November 9, 1765, Sir William Johnson Papers, LC; Barton to Johnson, November 30, 1765, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 8, Box 21, HSP; Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, October 28, November 17, 1766, Peters Papers, VI, 44, 46, HSP.

<sup>44</sup> Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, I, 12-13; Paul A. W. Wallace, *The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 309, 312.

<sup>45</sup> LCHS *Journal*, LII (1948), 214n.; information on Webb furnished by Dr. Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., Librarian, APS; Inventory of Estate, David Stout, 1764, Inventory File, 1764, LCTO; Tappert and Doberstein, *Muhlenberg's Journals*, III, 728; C. Earl Smith, Jr., "Henry Muhlenberg, Botanical Pioneer," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CVI (1962), 443-44; *Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 1744-1838* (Philadelphia, 1884), p. 132.

<sup>46</sup> George R. Prowell, "Frederick Valentine Melsheimer," *York County Historical Society Papers*, I, 20, 21.

<sup>47</sup> *PMHB*, XXIV (1900), 467.

<sup>48</sup> *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1777), pp. 338-39.

<sup>49</sup> Brooke Hindle, *David Rittenhouse* (Princeton, 1964), pp. 41, 54; Joseph Shippen, Jr. to Edward Shippen, June 23, 1769, Shippen Papers, II (Balch Papers), p. 7, HSP; Edward Shippen, Jr. to Joseph Shippen, Jr., June 29, 1769, Shippen Family Papers.

<sup>50</sup> LCHS *Journal*, LIV (1950), 79-80; Francis Jordan, Jr., *The Life of William Henry, 1729-1786* (Lancaster, 1910), pp. 41, 52; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 13-15; Hindle, *David Rittenhouse*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>51</sup> *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 1, 286-99; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 7, 1768, p. 3; *Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, pp. 8-9, 129, 172; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 13-15, 15-16; David Rittenhouse to William Henry, February 24, 1786, Henry MSS., II, 68, HSP.

<sup>52</sup> LCHS *Journal*, I (1896), 201; XVII (1913), 92; XLII (1938), 52; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 4, II, 45; William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York, 1834), II, 228-29.

<sup>53</sup> Thomas Barton, *The Conduct of the Paxton Men, Impartially Represented* (Philadelphia, 1764); John Frederick Koffler, *A Letter from a Tradesman in Lancaster . . . Respecting the Loan of Money to the Government . . .* ([Philadelphia], 1760), a copy of which is in the Library Company of Philadelphia; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 10, 1760, p. 3; Edward Shippen to William Logan, April 8, 1768 (Copy), Edward Shippen Letterbooks, APS; Shippen to [Edward Burd], January 13, 1770 (Copy), *ibid.*; Burd to Shippen, January 26, 1770, Burd-Shippen Papers (General Correspondence, Folder 6), PHMC.

## Epilogue

<sup>1</sup> George Washington to John Jay, August 1, 1786 (Copy) in Samuel Eliot Morison (ed.), *Sources and Documents Illustrating the American Revolution . . . and the Formation of the Federal Constitution* (Oxford, 1923), p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> *Das Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung*, December 26, 1787, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 2, 1788, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Das Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung*, June 25, 1788, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, July 9, 1788, pp. 2-3.

<sup>6</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 5, 1788, p. 2; November 12, 1788, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, March 4, 1789, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> William Maclay to Jasper Yeates, March 13 1789 (Copy), in Egle, *Historical Register, Notes and Queries*, II (1884), 301.

<sup>9</sup> Jasper Yeates to William Maclay, March 23, 1789 (Copy), *Ibid.*, pp. 305-306.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Hand to Robert Morris and William Maclay, March 17, 1789 (Copy), Ross-Penn-Coleman-Shippen Box, LCHS.; Edward Hand to the U. S. Congress, March 17, 1789 (Copy), Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1789-1799), HSP.

<sup>11</sup> Edward Hand to the U. S. Congress, March 17, 1789.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Jasper Yeates to William Hamilton, March 23, 1789 (Copy), Egle, *Historical Register*, II, 306; William Hamilton to His Private Secretary, August 30, 1789 (Copy), in *PMHB*, XXIX (1905) 156.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Hartley to Jasper Yeates, March 30, 1789, August 16, 1789, Yeates Papers (Correspondence, 1789-1799), HSP.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Hartley to Jasper Yeates, August 23, 1789, September 6, 1789, September 18, 1789, *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Thomas Harley to Jasper Yeates, September 18, 1789, *ibid.*

## Bibliographical Essay

SIMPLY to list all of the many primary and secondary sources used in the research for this work, and cited in the notes, would be superfluous. Rather will the reader find here an essay indicating the value of those sources which are most helpful in recounting the early history of Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

There is no scholarly account of the rise of the town. Three older histories, I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Lancaster and York Counties* (Lancaster, 1844), Jacob I. Mombert, *An Authentic History of Lancaster County* (Lancaster, 1869), and Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1883), are concerned with the county in its entirety; and although they include material on the borough they do not deal with it systematically. These studies are, moreover, uncritical, falling generally into the category of those filiopietistic, self-congratulatory rhapsodies which were so common in nineteenth-century local-history writing. It must be said to the credit of these pioneers, however, that they dug out and used a great many original sources in their work, some of which they presented verbatim; but they did not, for the most part, indicate the nature and the location of the material they utilized. William Riddle, *The Story of Lancaster, Old and New* (Lancaster, 1917) relies upon the earlier works mentioned, and is also popular in nature. The most recent and fullest account of the development of the Lancaster region is H. M. J. Klein, *Lancaster County, Pennsylvania: A History*, four volumes (New York, 1924).

This study has been written primarily from manuscript and printed sources, scattered in location and various in kind: private correspondence, public records, business correspondence and accounts, church records, court records, tax lists, census data, inventories of estate, diaries, and newspapers. The primary materials pertinent to the study of Lancaster are located mainly in six repositories. At the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, the researcher will find the richest treasury of material, not only in the family, commercial, and other specialized collections analyzed below, but also in the Society, Dreer, Stauffer, and Etting collections of amazingly diverse items, and in the Simon Gratz Autograph Collection—all of which yield unsuspected gems. In addition to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania there are important materials in the library of the American Philosophical Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia,



the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, and the Library of Congress. The Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster, is most valuable for its eighteenth-century statistical information—town and county assessment and tax lists—and local maps; otherwise, its eighteenth-century holdings are small and less helpful, though here, too, there are occasional items of importance. There are a few useful items in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library, especially in the Stauffer Collection. In the following paragraphs, the sources which proved most useful to me are indicated in their proper categories, with the location of each source shown in parentheses, unless otherwise identified.

*Manuscript Sources.* Private correspondence constitutes the single most rewarding source for the study of colonial Lancaster. The most important groups of papers within this category are those of the Shippen, Yeates, and Burd families, which were all related by marriage. Edward Shippen, as agent to James Hamilton, and an important administrative link between the back country and Provincial officials during the French and Indian War, was an extremely knowledgeable and influential man; and the letters to and from his son, brother, nephew, and other family members—which are to be found in the Edward Shippen letterbooks in the American Philosophical Society, as well as in the Shippen family papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library of Congress—convey a great variety of information about Lancaster and its people. Shippen's letters to and from James Hamilton are especially useful insofar as the development of the borough is concerned. Next in importance are the papers of the Yeates clan, including a Jasper Yeates letterbook (1769–1771), Memorandum Book (1764–1769), correspondence (1738–1739), and the Yeates-Burd Correspondence (1769–1881) at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, correspondence and legal accounts (1726–1812) at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, and another Yeates letterbook (1766–1767) and a Day Book (1766–1767) in the Lancaster County Historical Society. Inasmuch as Yeates succeeded Shippen as Lancaster agent to the Hamilton family, his correspondence with James and William Hamilton is indispensable for research into the development of the town after the War for Independence. The Burd-Shippen Family Papers, 1742–1789 (APS), and 1750–1834 (PHMC), contain useful letters of Edward Shippen and James Hamilton. Many of the Burd-Shippen letters in the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission have been published in Lewis Burd Walker (ed.), *The Burd Papers: Selections from Letters Written by Edward Burd, 1763–1828* (n.p., 1899).

Unfortunately, manuscript documents concerning the Hamilton family (HSP) are very scanty, but one appreciates especially James Hamilton's

letterbook (1749–1783). For valuable information on political and economic activities in Lancaster during the War for Independence, as well as material on the gunsmiths William and John Henry, and the business activities of the partnership of Simon and Henry, the William Henry Manuscripts (HSP), 1759–1812, should be consulted. James Steel's letterbook (HSP), 1730–1741, is indispensable for unraveling some of the mystery surrounding the acquisition of the Lancaster site by Andrew Hamilton; and the John Taylor Papers (HSP) contain information on, and early surveys of, the Lancaster area. In the Rev. Richard Peters Papers (HSP), especially his letterbook, 1737–1750, are interesting letters to and from the Rev. Thomas Barton, his most Anglican friend, concerning religious and intellectual affairs at Lancaster and in the surrounding area. The papers of Capt. Richard Peters (HSP) include material pertaining to the Reverend Mr. Peters in his capacity as executor of the estate of Thomas Cookson, Lancaster's first chief burgess. A few helpful items on the early development of the town can be found in the Penn Family Manuscripts (HSP), especially the Official Correspondence and the Additional Miscellaneous Letters, and in the Penn-Bailey Collection.

Two manuscript diaries are available. One is the "Extract aus dem Lancastersche Diariam" for 1749 and 1750, apparently a distillation of the journal kept by the Rev. Abraham Reinke while he served as pastor of St. Andrew's Moravian Church in Lancaster. The "Extract," in a crabbed German script, located among the records at the church, is mainly concerned with Moravian affairs, but has important comments on the other religious societies in the borough and secular matters as well. The second diary is Christopher Marshall's "Remembrancer" (HSP), which unfolds the life of a devoutly Christian man, a Philadelphia Quaker apothecary, who lived in Lancaster during most of the War for Independence and whose comments on the inhabitants of the town and events graphically depict the tumult of those times. Manuscript volume G of the "Remembrancer," covering the period from September 24, 1781, to July 13, 1783, is missing, but some of the contents can be found in William Duane (ed.), *Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall* (Albany, 1877). A letterbook belonging to Marshall (HSP), 1773–1778, also contains pertinent information.

Essential business correspondence and accounts are to be found primarily in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, but very little remains in the way of records of Lancaster businessmen. There are for William McCord, however, a Day Book (1763–1767), Cash Book (1764–1767), and Ledger (1761–1766) in the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, which also houses a ledger (1773–1781) of Paul Zantzinger. Mr. J. Robert Moore, pro-

prietor of the defunct Steinman Hardware Company of Lancaster, has in his possession records of the blacksmith-businessman John Miller, said to be the founder of the firm, which include a Day Book (1751-1762) and an account book (1744-c.1773). Contrary to previously published statements, however, Miller's business activities in Lancaster do not date back to the 1740's—at which time he was in Manor Township—but rather to the 1760's. Given the virtual lack of records for Lancaster businessmen, the best way to approach a study of the economic life of the borough is through the commercial records of those Philadelphia traders who dealt extensively in the back country. One such merchant was Thomas Wharton, who supplied at least eight Lancaster storekeepers; his commercial correspondence, especially his letterbooks, 1752-1759 and 1773-1784 (HSP), are essential to any understanding of the structure of inland trade. John Reynell, like Wharton a Quaker merchant, also traded with Lancaster storekeepers, and his papers (HSP) are helpful, as are the letterbooks (1759-1762; 1762-1764; 1764-1766; 1769-1772) of the partnership of Abel James and Henry Drinker (HSP)—also merchantile Friends, with extensive trading connections in the hinterland. The business records of the company of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, particularly the commercial correspondence of Baynton and Wharton, 1759-1763 (PHMC) contain letters to Lancaster tradesmen. The business records mentioned thus far deal primarily with the period before 1770, but the commercial letters exchanged between Charles Hamilton of Lancaster, storekeeper, and John Mitchell of Philadelphia, merchant, his supplier, contained in Mitchell's commercial correspondence, 1762-1774 (PHMC), nicely fill in the early 1770's.

Business connections between Lancaster merchants and nearby industrial establishments are to be studied in the Elizabeth Furnace Records, the Hopewell Forge Ledger, 1769-1770, and the Mannheim Glassworks Records, all of which are located in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. No documents surpass those in the McAllister Collection (formerly in the Library Company of Philadelphia, now in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania) for information concerning Lancaster's Jewish merchants and the town's role in the fur trade.

Essential to any account of the residents and the socio-economic structure of colonial Lancaster are the tax assessment lists ("Borough Returns") and tax levy lists in the Lancaster County Historical Society, an assessment list from about 1763 in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Septennial Censuses (1779 and 1786) in the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. The distribution and rents of town lots can be ascertained in the Hamilton Ground Rent Roll (LCHS). Minutes of the corporation of Lancaster (1742-1818), which are complete except for a gap in

the late 1740's and early 1750's, are located in the Mayor's office in the Municipal Building, Lancaster. Manuscript church records still extant in the town include the minutes of the vestry of St. James's Church, documents pertaining to St. Andrew's Moravian Church, and data relevant to the Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity; all are available at the respective churches.

Important and very useful public records for the colonial period are stored in the county courthouse in Lancaster. There may be found the county commissioners' minute books, which cover this entire period, but which are fragmentary in places. In the office of the Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas are the dockets for that court; more useful, because it is more detailed, however, is the NAARS (Appearance) File, which is arranged in file boxes according to court terms in the basement of the courthouse. The records of the Court of Common Pleas are useful not alone for the study of crime in the borough, but also—through the suits for debt—as an indication of the extent of the county trade of Lancaster storekeepers. Criminal cases can be reviewed in the Road Dockets housed in the office of the Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions. The original docket (1729–1742) is available, but the remainder are copies and, one suspects, incomplete; all must be used in conjunction with the Indictment File, however, which gives more detailed information concerning each case. Deeds can be consulted in the Recorder's Office, where there are not only deed-books (grantor and grantee), but filmed copies of the original documents as well. To mine the contents of the inventories of estate—so important to the social historian—one must descend to the lonely basement of the County Treasurer's Office, where the lists are arranged, dust laden, in file boxes according to year.

*Printed Primary Sources.* Newspapers are the most important printed primary sources for the history of colonial Lancaster—both the German and the English sheets published in Philadelphia, Germantown, and Lancaster. Most useful for this study were *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, *The Pennsylvania Chronicle*, *Die Pennsylvanische Berichte*, and *Der Wochentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*—all published at the capital or in Germantown—and *Die Lancastersche Zeitung*, *Die Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-Blat*, and *Das Neue Unparthyesche Lancastersche Zeitung*, issued in Lancaster. A meticulous guide to colonial newspapers is Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820* (Worcester, Mass., 1947). Almanacs were important purveyors of popular culture, and must be studied as such. Those published in Lancaster and used in this study were the “Lancaster” almanacs by Francis Bailey, and *Der Republicanische Calender*, issued by Theophilus Cossart. Milton Drake (comp.), *Almanacs of the United States* (New York, 1962), provides a handy checklist of these publications.



The official records of the colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, contained in the *Pennsylvania Archives* (especially the first and eighth series) and the *Pennsylvania Colonial Records* are indispensable, not only for the Provincial and State legislation concerning the borough, but also for private correspondence and other documents containing information of the town during the French and Indian War and the War for Independence. Important private papers available in printed editions include Leonard W. Labaree (ed.), *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven, 1959-), which is helpful for information concerning the relationship between the foremost American printer and his Lancaster counterparts, and John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931-1944), which has useful material on Lancaster during the War for Independence, especially the activities of the gunsmith William Henry. Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein (eds.), *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia, 1942; three vols.) contains many comments on Lancaster Lutheranism, and is occasionally helpful on other matters of town life as well.

Travelers' accounts are important sources for the reconstruction of the history of any town; but they are a sort of gift horse which must be looked squarely in the mouth. For tourists are notoriously credulous, and have, moreover, a tendency to plagiarize the opinions of others to bolster their own foggy memories, or to make comments on things which they have not seen. And it must be said, too, that the "leading citizens" of towns are prone to expansiveness concerning the population and achievements of their communities. At least a dozen people visited and commented upon Lancaster during the period of this study. Witham Marshe, "Journal of the Treaty Held with the Six Nations By the Commissioners of Maryland and Other Provinces at Lancaster, June, 1744," published in William Egle, *Notes and Queries Historical and Genealogical Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*, Series 3, I, has a good deal of information on the early appearance of the town; but Marshe was a sniffish Annapolitan whose judgments about the back country must be accepted cautiously. In Thomas Anburey's *Travels through the Interior Parts of America* (London, 1789; two vols.), there is a rather extensive account of the town in the late 1770's; but he was a poor traveler, a disenchanted officer in General Burgoyne's defeated army, who copied some of his notions about the town verbatim from J. F. D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America* (London, 1784), who actually spent his time at Lancaster in jail! Somewhat more than passing comments about the borough can also be found in William Parker Cutler and Julia Perkins Cutler (eds.), *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.* (Cincinnati, 1888; two vols.), as well as Johann D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation* (Philadelphia,

1911; two vols.). Gottlieb Mittelberger's *Reise nach Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1750* (Stuttgart, 1756), contains a few useful items concerning the town.

As far as other printed primary sources are concerned, William Egle's *Notes and Queries* series and Samuel Hazard (ed.), *The Register of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1828–1836; 16 vols.), contain some apparently extinct documents of interest. William J. Hinke (ed.), *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania, 1747–1792* (Philadelphia, 1903), and his "Transcripts of the Church Records of the First Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa., 1736–1806," available at the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church Archives, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, have important information on that congregation. For the Lutherans, there is the *Nachrichten von dem vereigniten Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinen in Nord-America* (Halle, 1787; Allentown, 1886) or the *Halle Reports*. Ralph Strassberger and William Hinke (eds.), *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Norristown, Pa., 1934; three vols.), reproduce shiplists bearing the names of thousands of German-speaking immigrants to eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, which are useful for tracing the Lancaster settlers. Material essential to the intellectual history of the town can be found in the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, volumes one and two (Philadelphia, 1771, 1786), in the *Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 1744–1838* (Philadelphia, 1884), and in *The Charter, Laws, Catalogue of Books, List of Philosophical Instruments, &c., of the Juliana Library in Lancaster* (Lancaster, 1766), which also contains useful descriptive and demographic information on the town.

*Secondary Sources.* Special guides which should be checked include Lottie M. Bausman (ed.), *A Bibliography of Lancaster County* (Philadelphia, n.d.), which contains a few Lancaster imprints missed by Charles E. Hildeburn (ed.), *A Century of Printing: The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685–1784* (Philadelphia, 1885; two vols.)—an essential listing of books and pamphlets published by Lancaster printers. Charles Evans (ed.), *American Bibliography* (Chicago, 1903–1934; 12 vols.), still performs yeoman service as a checklist for colonial American publications. For newspapers, Clarence S. Brigham (ed.), *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, mentioned above, should be perused, as should the already noted Milton Drake (comp.), *Almanacs of the United States*.

The most important journal for the study of colonial Lancaster is the *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* (1896–), published until 1957 as *Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society*. Lancastrians have long been enamored of the study of their past—as is evidenced by the antiquity of their historical society—and over the years the

Lancaster County Historical Society *Journal* has printed articles on virtually every phase of the town's development; until recently, however, these pieces did not include documentation; and I have used the *Journal* primarily for the copies of original sources contained therein, since the manuscript documents discussed at the head of this essay form the basis for almost every article written about Lancaster which has appeared in the *Journal*. The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (1877–), published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, has over the years contained numerous items relating to early Lancaster.

There are about a half-dozen or more biographies of important colonial Lancastrians or men with connections in the borough. Burton Alva Konkle, *The Life of Andrew Hamilton, 1767–1741* (Philadelphia, 1941), brings together the scant information on the early life of this famous Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, but contains, unfortunately, only a brief allusion to Hamilton's affairs at Lancaster. Lily L. Nixon, *James Burd, Frontier Defender, 1726–1793* (Philadelphia, 1941), is good on the career of that Irish soldier-merchant who lived for a while in Lancaster. As for men who were important in the economic life of Lancaster, there are Francis Jordan, Jr., *The Life of William Henry, 1729–1786* (Lancaster, 1910), George L. Heiges, *Henry William Stiegel and His Associates* (Lancaster, 1948), and Albert T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement* (Cleveland, 1926), whose subject has been studied more recently by Nicholas Biddle Wainwright, *George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat* (Chapel Hill, 1959). Studies of important members of the intellectual coterie at Lancaster include Paul A. W. Wallace, *The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1950), which has material on G. H. E. Muhlenberg; J. Franklin Reigart, *The Life of Robert Fulton* (Philadelphia, 1856), which has important information concerning Lancaster's environmental influence on the inventor of the first successful steamboat; and Brooke Hindle's excellent *David Rittenhouse* (Princeton, 1964), which reveals the relationship between Rittenhouse and such Lancastrians as the Rev. Thomas Barton, his brother-in-law, and William Henry, whose genius Rittenhouse so respected. A long-needed study of the Shippen Family—in seventeenth-century Massachusetts and in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania—has been provided by Randolph S. Klein's *Portrait of an Early American Family* (Philadelphia, 1975).

Important background material, useful for setting the development of Lancaster within the perspective of Pennsylvania's history as a colony, can be found in Sylvester K. Stevens, *Pennsylvania, Birthplace of a Nation* (New York, 1964) and Theodore Thayer, *Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy* (Harrisburg, 1953), which has references to important political leaders in the borough. To set Lancaster into the gen-

eral framework of colonial and early American urban development, one should read Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness* (New York, 1938) and *Cities in Revolt* (New York, 1955), as well as Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959). James T. Lemon's *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1972) gives an understanding of the relationship between land and society in the region around Lancaster.

At present, Lancaster's economic development must be studied from the sources, but William Vincent Byars, *B. and M. Gratz, Merchants in Philadelphia, 1754-1798* (Jefferson City, Mo., 1916), which incorporates many items in the McAllister Collection at the Library Company of Philadelphia, provides a good picture of the activities of Lancaster's Jewish traders, who were connected with the Gratzes. Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York, 1911; two vols.) is the only general study of the Pennsylvania fur trade, and does justice to Lancaster's place in that enterprise.

For broad treatments of the religious development of a few of Pennsylvania's many denominations there are Joseph Henry Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1902), the eleventh volume of *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*, and Theodore E. Schmaux, *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, 1638-1800* (Lancaster, 1902), in the same volume of the Society's proceedings. Monsignor John Tracy Ellis', *Catholics in Colonial America* (Baltimore, 1965), has material on the chapel at Lancaster. John Rader Marcus, *Early American Jewry* (Philadelphia, 1957; two vols.) and Edwin Wolf, II, and Maxwell White-man, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1957), both have important information on the Hebrew settlement at Lancaster. The standard study of pietism in the middle colonies in the eighteenth century, Charles H. Maxon, *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies* (Chicago, 1920), is very weak on the German churches, a deficiency which has been corrected by John B. Frantz, "The Awakening of Religion Among the German Settlers in the Middle Colonies" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d. Series, XXXIII (1976), 266-88, and Martin E. Lodge, "The Crisis of the Churches in the Middle Colonies," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VC (1971), 210-20.

Most useful for the study of the church schools in Lancaster are Frederick G. Livingood, *Eighteenth-Century Reformed Church Schools* (Norristown, 1930), in the 38th volume of *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*, and Charles L. Maurer, *Early Lutheran Education in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1932), in the 40th volume of the Society's proceedings. Slim but adequate is Samuel E. Weber's *The Charity School Move-*



*ment in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1905). Brooke Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, 1956) provides important background for the scientific activity in Lancaster, especially on astronomy. For histories of Lancaster's most important educational institution, Franklin and Marshall College, see Joseph Henry Dubbs, *History of Franklin and Marshall College* (Lancaster, 1903) and H. M. J. Klein, *History of Franklin and Marshall College, 1787-1948* (Lancaster, 1952).

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